THE TREE

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THE TREE

Symbol, Allegory, and Mnemonic Device in Medieval Art and Thought

Edited by

Pippa Salonius and Andrea Worm

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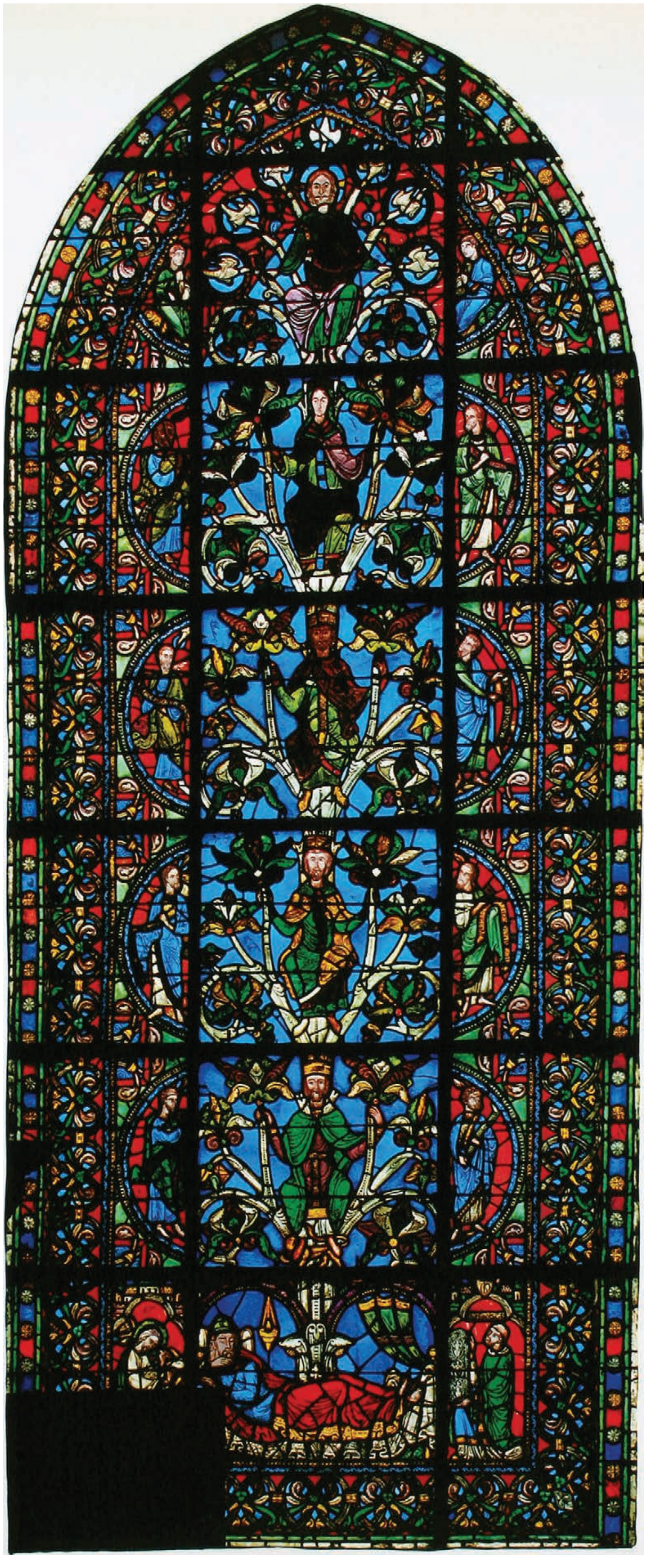
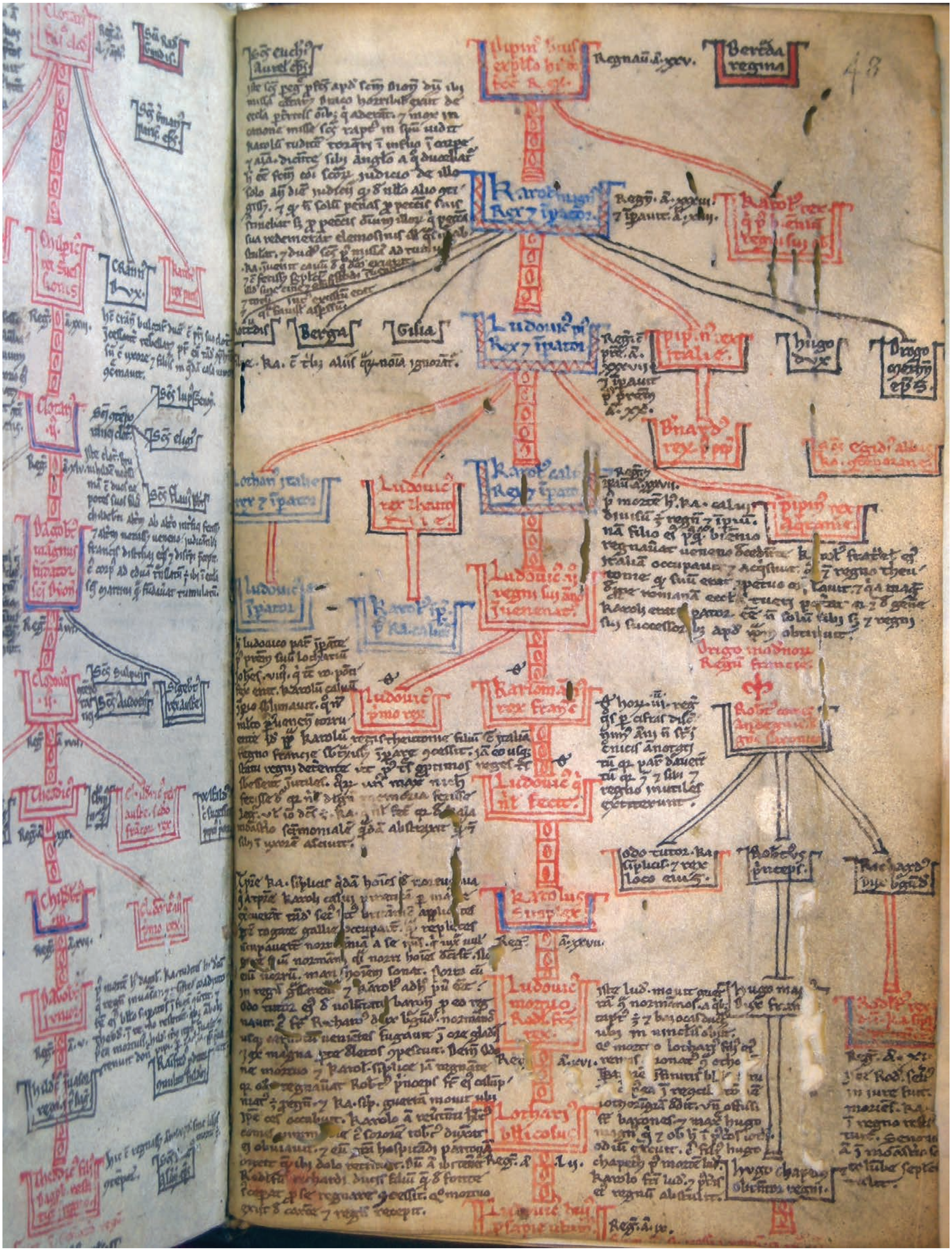
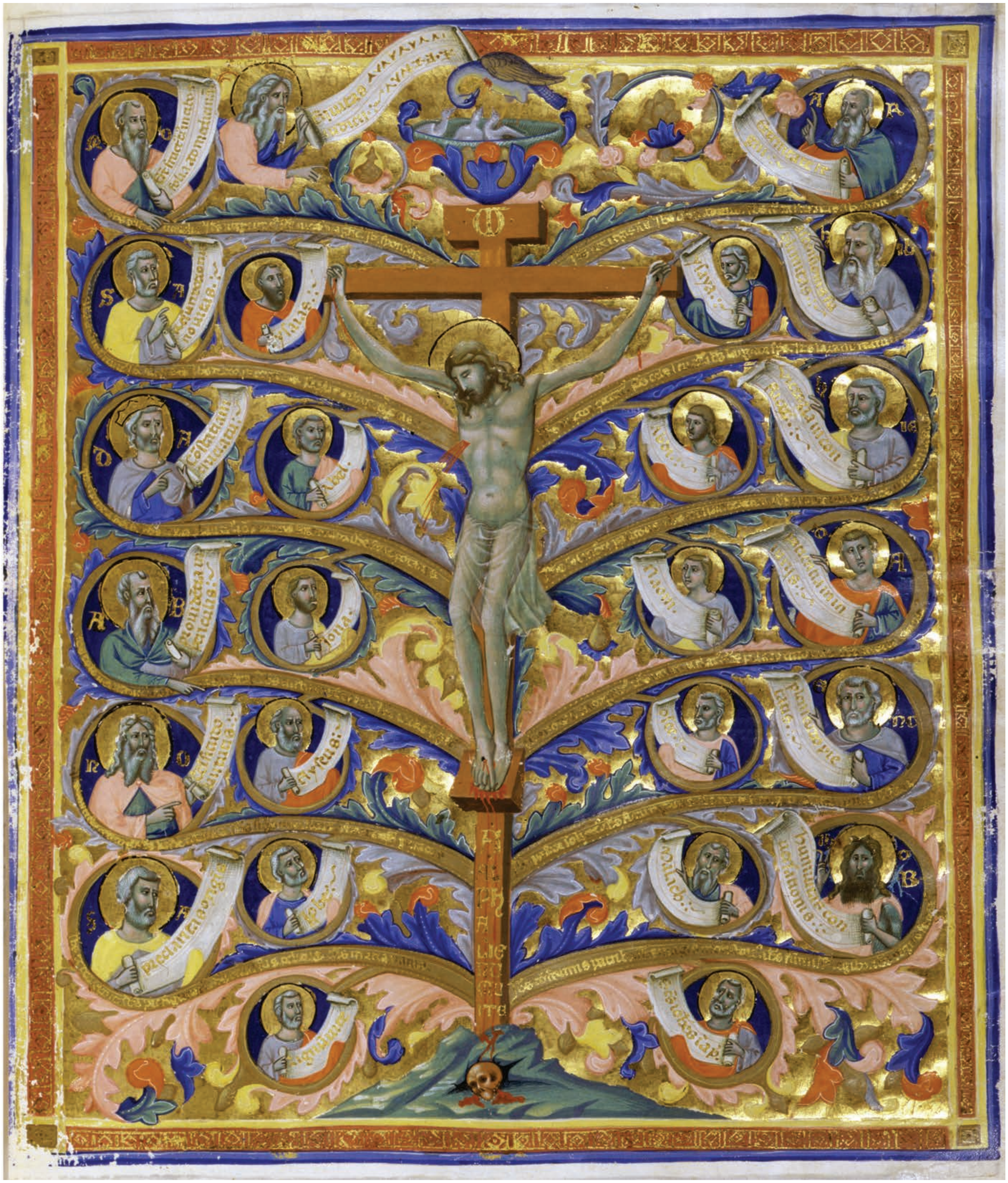


Plate 1.
'Tree of Jesse', Saint-Denis, Abbey Church, window S-I. *c.* 1140.
Photo courtesy of the Courtauld Institute of Art, London.





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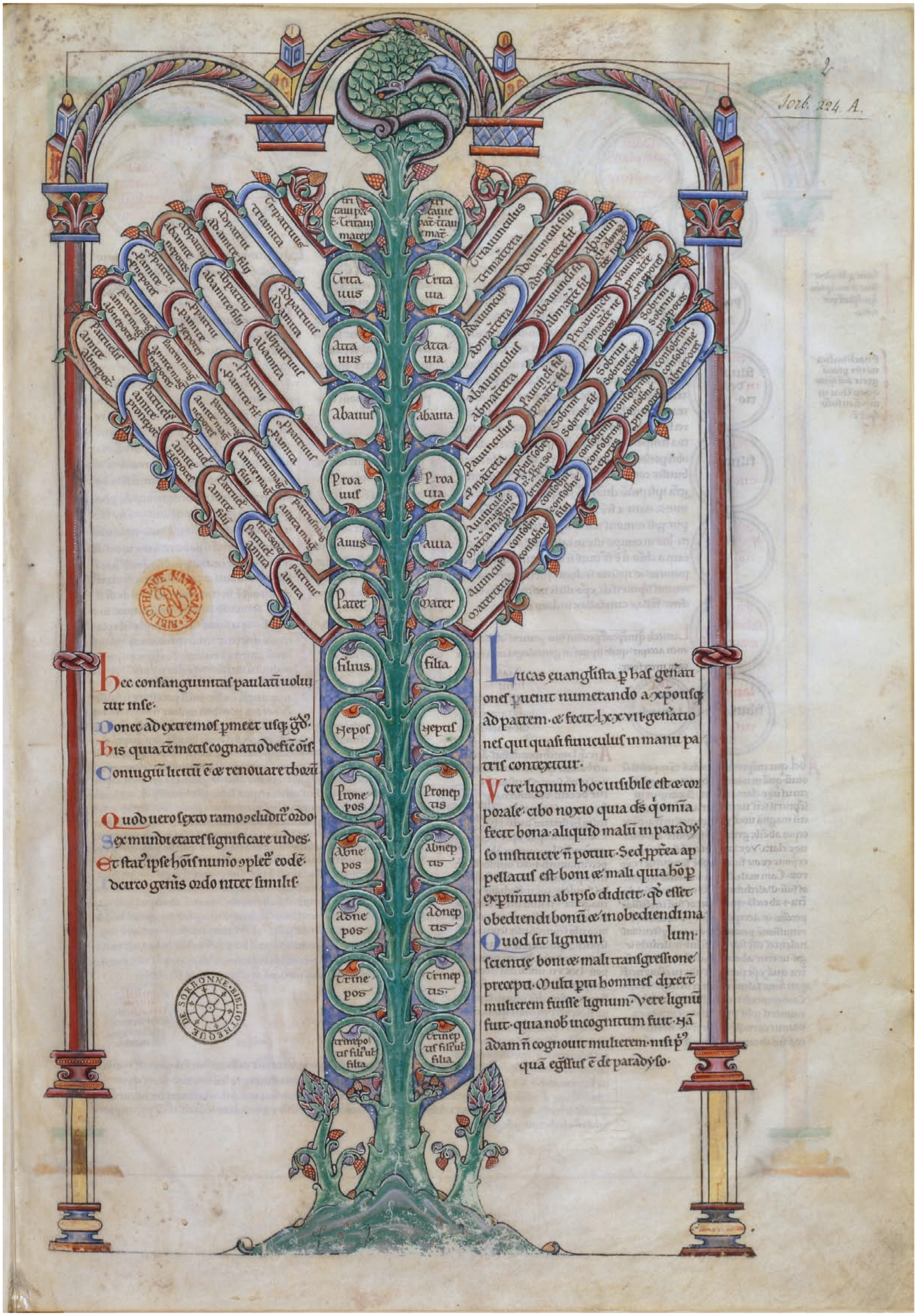
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hec consanguinitas paulatī uolu
tur inse·
Donec ad extremos ꝑueniat usq; gᵈ·
His quia terminis cognatio defic oīs
Coniugiū licitū ē et renouare thorū

Quod uero sexto ramo ꝯcluditᵘʳ ordo
Sex mundi etates significare uides·
Et statᵘʳ ipse hoīs numo ꝯpletᵘʳ eodē·
Circo generis ordo nitet similis·

Lucas euanglista ꝑ has genati
ones ꝑuenit numerando a xpo usq;
ad patrem· et fecit·lxxvii·genatio
nes qui quasi funiculus in manu pa
tris contexitur·
Vere lignum hoc uisibile est et cor
porale· cibo noxio quia ds q̇ omīa
fecit bona·aliquid malū in paradyso instituere n̄ potuit· Sed ꝓptea ap
pellatus est boni et mali quia hō ꝑ
experimentum ab ipso didicit· qd̓ esset
obediendi bonū et inobediendi ma
lum·
Quod sit lignum
scientie boni et mali transgressione
precepti· Multi ꝑiti homines dixerūt
mulierem fuisse lignum· Vere lignū
fuit· quia nob incognitum fuit· Nā
adam n̄ cognouit mulierem· nisi pᵒ
quā egressus ē de paradyso·

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Photo courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France.

PREFACE

The tree with its vital character — growing, flowering, extending its roots into the ground and its branches and leaves to the sky — is suggestive as a polyvalent metaphor, symbol, and allegorical subject. During the Middle Ages, different iconographic schemata were based on the image and structure of the tree. Particularly from the twelfth century onwards such formulae were increasingly used as devices for the visual representation of theoretical concepts in the art of the medieval West. Although these schemata were often quite abstract, they continued to retain the symbolic and allegorical qualities of trees. The analysis of different manifestations of trees in medieval art and thought, of their symbolic and allegorical dimensions, and of their use as a structuring device is highly instructive for the intellectual and cultural history of their time.

This collected volume of essays illustrates different approaches to evaluating the tree in the art and visual culture of the medieval West. Most of the essays concentrate on examples from Western Europe between the eleventh and fifteenth centuries, which was the formative period for arboreal imagery before it became ubiquitous in the later Middle Ages and the early modern era. Using a range of methodological strategies and examining diverse materials, the authors focus on how these trees were conceived and employed, how they were appropriated by their specific contexts, how they functioned in their original framework, and how they were perceived by their different audiences.

This volume brings together a set of contributions from scholars who present their work from different perspectives. Reoccurring themes have been cross-referenced within the volume to guide the reader to related material in each of the articles. In addition to this, images have also been cross-referenced, in order to make reading the work as a whole more accessible. Thus, we hope, this volume will function both as a set of independent articles and as a complete book.

The articles presented here are based on papers delivered at the International Medieval Congress at Leeds, which addressed the thematic strand 'The Natural World' (7–10 July 2008). We would like to thank all the speakers who presented papers at the sessions, the participants who contributed to the discussion, and most of all, the authors of the present volume. Our particular thanks go to the Editorial Board at Leeds for their positive feedback, to our external reviewer for constructive comments and suggestions, and to Brepols, in particular to Simon Forde and Guy Carney for their encouragement and to Katharine Handel and Deborah A. Oosterhouse for their helpfulness and efficiency throughout the process. In view of the broad scope of the subject of the tree, what this volume seeks to provide is not, and cannot be, conclusive, but rather it aims at provoking further development of the argument.

INTRODUCTION

Pippa Salonius and Andrea Worm

The encyclopaedic treatise *Arbor scientiae* (Tree of Knowledge/Science) by Ramon Llull (1232–1316) made a resounding impact and became enormously influential for the visual presentation of knowledge throughout the later Middle Ages and the early modern period.[1] One of its most striking features is the author's use of arboreal imagery throughout his work, which consists of sixteen chapters. These chapters are each introduced by a schematic summary of their contents in the figure of a tree,[2] and, as Llull states: 'All sciences can be approached through these sixteen trees'.[3] Each chapter is divided into seven parts, which correspond to the roots, the trunk, the branches, the twigs, the leaves, the flowers, and the fruit of each tree. This underlying didactic system characterizes all of the trees or chapters in his encyclopaedia.[4] However, the trees of Llull's *Arbor scientiae* were probably originally conceived as mental images only: It was not until the fifteenth century, apparently, that they became visually manifest as illustrations in manuscripts and printed editions. The first of these trees is the *Arbor elementalis*. This 'Elemental Tree' grows from the Lullian principles as shown in a fifteenth-century manuscript (Figure 1.1) and in a printed book from the early sixteenth century (Figure 1.2).

The roots stand for the 'principia artis' ('principles of the art'), the trunk for chaos, the branches for 'elementa simplicia' ('simple elements'), the twigs for 'elementa composita' ('composite elements'), the leaves for the 'accidentia' ('accidentals'), the flowers for 'instrumenta' ('instruments, tools'), and the fruit for 'elementata' ('elemented things').[5] The two standing figures flanking the tree are the author, Ramon Llull, on the left-hand side, and an unidentified monk on the right-hand side. Their presence alludes to the introductory dialogue and adds to the didactic intention of the book. In both the illuminated manuscript and the early printed book, the terms, which are the basic concepts of the Art, are inscribed in medallions attached to the roots.[6] This image, which incorporates the basic logic of the Llullian tree, was used in a more

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[1] We wish to thank Annemieke Verboon who has generously contributed her expertise to the introduction.

Raimundus Lullus (Ramon Llull) was a Catalan scholar and Franciscan tertiary; his work also appeared in Catalan as 'L'arbre de ciència'. For a critical edition of the Latin version, see Lullus, *Arbor scientiae*, ed. by Villalba-Varneda with a thorough *Introductio generalis* (in Latin) by the editor; on Ramon Llull, see also Bonner, *The Art and Logic of Ramon Llull*; Fidora and de la Cruz, *Raimundus Lullus*; see on the *Arbor Scientiae* specifically Domínguez Reboiras, *Arbor Scientiae*, especially the introductory article by Badia, 'The Arbor Scientia'.

[2] It is worth pointing out that the illustrations in the manuscripts differ considerably, as the digitized and readily accessible manuscripts demonstrate. For an overview of the manuscripts and printed editions of the *Arbor scientiae*, see Centre de Documentació Ramon Llull, 'Base de Dades Ramon Llull'.

[3] 'Per has sedecim arbores de omnibus scientiis tractari potest': *Arbor scientiae*, ed. by Villalba-Varneda, p. 8. English translations are by Yanis Dambergs (2003); see Lullus, *The Tree of Science*, trans. by Dambergs, p. 4.

[4] 'I am thinking about all the things that this tree signifies, because all things in existence are signified by it. For this reason, I now want to write the book you [the monk] requested and I want to compose it by considering the significations that this tree conveys to me through seven things, namely its roots, its trunk, its branches, its twigs, its leaves, its flowers and its fruit. And I intend to order the process of this book around these seven items': Lullus, *The Tree of Science*, trans. by Dambergs, p. 4.

[5] For a detailed analysis, see Lohr, 'Arbor Scientiae: The Tree of the Elements'.

[6] Bonner, *The Art and Logic of Ramon Llull*, p. 22.

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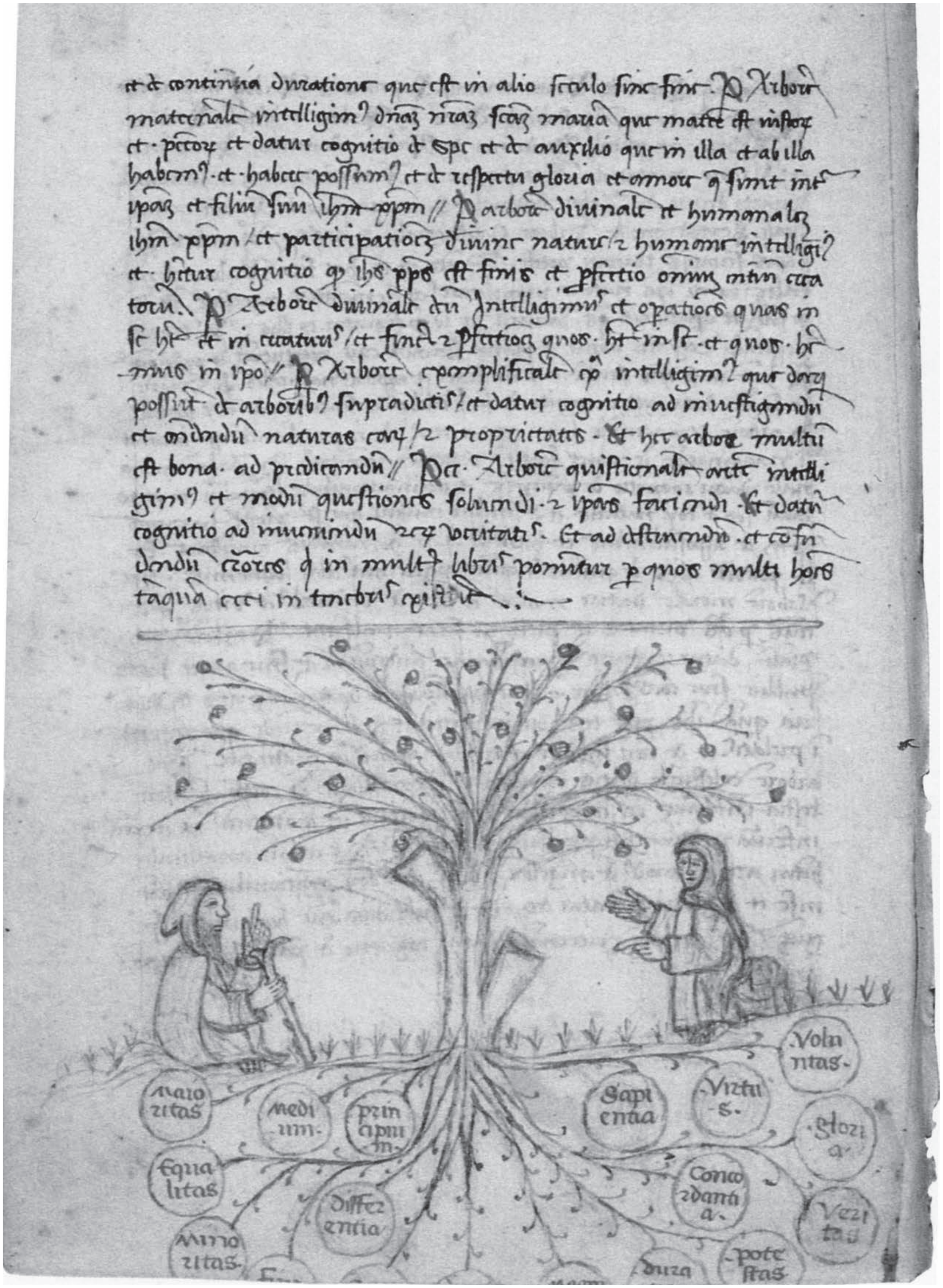
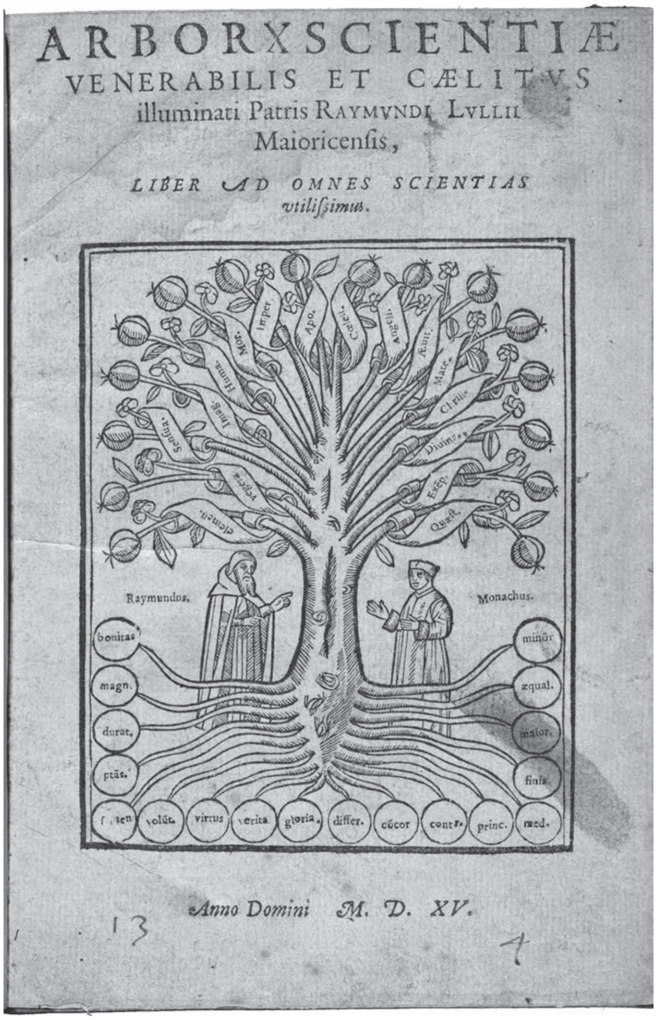


et de continua duratione que est in alio seculo sine fine. Per Arborem
maternalem intelligimus dominam nostram sanctam mariam que mater est iustorum
et peccatorum et datur cognitio de spe et de auxilio que in illa et ab illa
habemus et habere possumus et de respectu glorie et amoris que sunt inter
ipsam et filium suum ihesum christum // Per arborem diuinalem et humanalem
ihesum christum et participationem diuine nature et humane intelligimus
et habetur cognitio quod ihesus christus est finis et perfectio omnium [illegible] crea
torum. Per Arborem diuinalem deum intelligimus et operationes quas in
se habet et in creaturis et fines et perfectiones quos habet in se et quos ha
bemus in ipso // Per Arborem exemplificalem quod intelligimus que dari
possunt de arboribus supradictis et datur cognitio ad inuestigandum
et ordinandum naturas earum et proprietates. Et hec arbor multum
est bona ad predicandum // Per Arborem questionalem artem intelli
gimus et modum questiones soluendi et ipsas faciendi. Et datur
cognitio ad inueniendum earum ueritates. Et ad destruendum et confun
dendum errores qui in multis libris ponuntur per quos multi homines
tanquam ceci in tenebris existunt.

Figure 1.1. 'Arbor elementalis', Ramon Llull, *Arbor scientiae*, Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. lat. 3468, fol. 2ᵛ. 1428. Reproduced with the permission of the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, with all rights reserved, © 2014 Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.



ARBOR SCIENTIÆ
VENERABILIS ET CÆLITVS
illuminati Patris RAYMVNDI LVLLII
Maioricenſis,
LIBER AD OMNES SCIENTIAS
vtiliſsimus.

Anno Domini M. D. XV.

Raymundus.
Monachus.
bonitas
magn.
durat.
ptās.
minor
æqual.
maior
finis
volūt.
virtus
verita
gloria
differ.
cōcor
contr.
princ.
med.
13
4

Figure 1.2. 'Title page', Ramon Llull, *Arbor scientiae* (Lyon: Gilbert de Villiers, 1515). Los Angeles, Getty Research Institute, 88-B18535. Photo courtesy of the Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles.

elaborate version as the title page of the *Arbor Scientiae* in many early printed books between 1482 and 1637.[7]

Due to the numerous printed editions of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the trees of Ramon Llull have become iconic images of arboreal schemata in the context of logic and the systematization of knowledge.[8] As representations of flourishing fruit-bearing trees, they lend an immensely positive connotation to the structure and acquisition of knowledge. Because of their long-standing popularity, the trees in Ramon Llull's *Arbor scientiae* are particularly suited as examples of how evocative the tree was as a structuring device.[9] In the encyclopaedic literature of the early modern period, arboreal schemata flourished.[10] They expressed hierarchy and coherence in visual terms and illustrated conceptual relationships between the various individual components and the whole, thus rendering difficult intellectual concepts accessible to their audience. At the same time, they interpret the order they represent as a natural order, implying growth and prosperity. Trees are polyvalent symbols, stimulating thought on different levels of association, and thus exciting the 'creative metaphorical capacity of the human mind'.[11]

The present volume focuses on trees and arboreal imagery in Christian art and visual culture of the medieval and early modern periods. Numerous previous studies have dealt with the subject of the tree and its cultural manifestations, and many of them have informed this book. Given this multifaceted topic, the task of providing the reader with a comprehensive bibliographic survey is practically impossible, which is why we have limited ourselves to a selective overview of previous works. This introduction therefore aims at providing the reader with a more general orientation on the subject, independent of, yet supplementing the specific bibliographies of the individual articles.[12] Interest in trees seems to have greatly increased in the last decades of the twentieth century, and the field of enquiry has been notably expanded by, for example, the catalogue of an exhibition in Rome, which includes a vast and inspiring range of visual examples and is of great value for studies on the tree from the perspective of cultural history. The title reflects its broad scope: *De arbore: Botanica, scienza, alimentazione, architettura, teatro. Storia, legislazione, filosofia, simbologia, araldica, religione, letteratura, tecnologia degli alberi* (1991).[13] Three collections of essays have also become important works of reference: *L'Arbre: histoire naturelle et symbo-*

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[7] This is also the image on the cover of this volume.

[8] The iconic status of the image is reflected, for example, in its use as an emblem for the Centre for Advanced Studies at the Ludwig Maximilians Universität in Munich: <http://www.en.cas.uni-muenchen.de/about_us/index.html> [accessed 5 September 2012]. For other examples, see Badia, 'The Arbor Scientia', pp. 2–3.

[9] See the article in this volume by Annemieke Verboon, 'The Medieval Tree of Porphyry: The Logic, Organic, and Diagrammatic Structure'.

[10] On arboreal diagrams and genealogical trees in the early modern period, see notes 31, 32.

[11] Davies, 'The Evocative Symbolism of Trees', p. 4.

[12] The titles discussed in this Introduction are supplemented by the Select Bibliography at the end of this volume.

[13] Cavarra, *De arbore*. In addition to this, two works deserve mention for their wide range of visual material: Mazal, *Der Baum* and Selbmann, *Der Baum*.

lique de l'arbre, du bois et du fruit au moyen âge, edited by Michel Pastoureau (1993), *Aan de vruchten kent men de boom*, edited by Barbara Baert and Veerle Fraters, on aspects of arboreal iconography in the Netherlands from the medieval and early modern periods (2001), and *Le Monde végétal: médecine, botanique, symbolique*, edited by Agostino Paravicini Bagliani (2009).

In the following brief overview two methodological strands will be followed: one is the long-standing tradition of iconographical analysis; the other is concerned with the more recent interest in the role of the visual in structuring knowledge. This second approach ties in with broader trends in scholarship regarding the role and status of memory on the one hand, and on the other hand an interest in diagrams and the diagrammatic as an independent form of visual expression between text and image.

Among the first systematic attempts to classify the many different appearances of trees from an iconographic point of view are the entries 'Baum' by Liselotte Strauch and Walter Föhl, and 'Baumkreuz' by Hellmuth Bethe in *Reallexikon zur Deutschen Kunst* (1948).[14] These were followed two decades later, by the article 'Baum, Bäume' by Johanna Flemming in the *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie* (1968).[15] All three contributions discuss both 'pictorial' and 'structural' trees; however they are considered as two distinct categories. An example of the close interdependence of structural and iconographic aspects of trees can be found in the Trees of Virtues and Vices, which were studied by Adolf Katzenellenbogen in his monograph about the allegories of Virtues and Vices (1939),[16] and again in Jennifer O'Reilly's dissertation on the same subject (1988).[17] Some years later O'Reilly dedicated an article to 'The Trees of Eden in Medieval Iconography', extending her range of research to include other manifestations of tree iconography, besides the Trees of Virtues and Vices.[18] While Katzenellenbogen, O'Reilly, and others have focused on the iconography and iconology of trees, Gerhard Ladner was one of the first to highlight the symbolic connotations of arboreal imagery — a topic that he turned to repeatedly and from different perspectives.[19] One of his most important articles in this context — written in view of the new methodological approaches of his time, especially semiotics and structuralism — was dedicated to 'Medieval and Modern Understanding of Symbolism: A Comparison' (1979). The fact that Ladner chose to illustrate the medieval concept of symbolism with the tree is indicative of how important the motif was in the Middle Ages. Reference material for the iconography of trees is vast and more specific bibliography on the Tree of Jesse, the Tree of Life, or the Tree of Knowledge can be found in the articles dedicated to these themes in this volume.[20]

In recent years, trees have attracted increasing scholarly attention for their structural potential, due to a growing concern with the representation of knowledge and ideas and the rhetoric of visual structures. Although trees and arboreal patterns are not necessarily a primary focus of research on medieval mnemonics, a broader discussion of the functions and status of visual discourse is of pre-eminent importance to the subject as a whole, and also to many of the articles in this volume. After Francis Yates's pioneering study on *The Art of Memory* (1966),[21] our understanding of memory and mnemotechnics was substantially enhanced and modified. Mary Carruthers's work has shown that *memoria* is not confined to storing information and making it accessible, but that it must be understood as a creative *process* within which information is formed, interpreted, and edited.[22] A similar approach has been taken by Lina Bolzoni, whose research concentrates more explicitly on visual material.[23] Two of the most recent interdisciplinary publications on the subject are presented as edited volumes by Lucie Doležalova, *The Making of Memory in the Middle Ages* (2010) and Elma Brenner, Meredith Cohen, and

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[14] Strauch and Föhl, 'Baum', and Bethe, 'Baumkreuz'.

[15] Flemming, 'Baum, Bäume'.

[16] Katzenellenbogen, *Allegories of the Virtues and Vices in Mediaeval Art*, pp. 62–68.

[17] O'Reilly, *Studies in the Iconography of the Virtues and Vices*, chap. 8: 'Trees of Virtues and Vices, Life and Death', pp. 323–434.

[18] O'Reilly, 'The Trees of Eden in Medieval Iconography'.

[19] Ladner, 'Vegetation Symbolism'; Ladner, 'Medieval and Modern Understanding of Symbolism'; Ladner, 'Terms and Ideas of Renewal in the Twelfth Century'.

[20] See the articles in this volume by Marie-Pierre Gelin, '*Stirps Jesse in capite ecclesiae*: Iconographic and Liturgical Readings of the Tree of Jesse in Stained-Glass Windows'; Ute Dercks, 'Two Trees in Paradise? A Case Study on the Iconography of the Tree of Knowledge and the Tree of Life in Italian Romanesque Sculpture'; Ulrike Ilg, '*Quasi lignum vitae*: The Tree of Life as an Image of Mendicant Identity'; Pippa Salonius, '*Arbor Jesse – Lignum vitae*: The Tree of Jesse, the Tree of Life, and the Mendicants in Late Medieval Orvieto'.

[21] Yates, *The Art of Memory*.

[22] Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought*; Carruthers, *The Book of Memory*; Carruthers, '*Ars Inveniendi, ars Memorativa*'; Carruthers, 'Moving Images in the Mind's Eye'.

[23] Bolzoni, *La stanza della memoria*; Bolzoni, *La rete delle immagini*.

Mary Franklin-Brown, *Memory and Commemoration in Medieval Culture* (2013).[24]

The importance of the tree in the schematic representation of knowledge is reflected in medieval and early modern terminology. While most diagrams are referred to in generic terms as *figurae*, circular diagrams are defined as *rotae* and arboreal diagrams, which include *arbores consanguinitatis*, *arbores affinitatis*, *arbores juris*, *arbores historiae*, *arbores genealogiae*, and *arbores Porphyriana*, all bear the designation *arbores*.[25] This attribution of specific terms to certain structures highlights not only the prominence of these particular diagrams, but also the relevance of the given form to both its context and the content it seeks to convey. The study of diagrams in the medieval and early modern period is a relatively new field in art history. Among the first major contributions, three works need to be mentioned: Anna Esmeijer's groundbreaking analysis of the interpretative potential of the visual in her study *Divina Quaternitas: A Preliminary Study in the Method and Application of Visual Exegesis* (1973),[26] Michael W. Evans's article on 'The Geometry of the Mind' (1980),[27] and Jean-Claude Schmitt' 'Les Images classificatrices' (1989).[28] These publications classified different forms of diagrams — trees among them — but also took an interest in how the diagrams structure, and thus interpret, the matter they visualize. While Evans's underlying assumption was that the form of the diagrams actually does reflect an anthropological 'geometry of the mind', Schmitt sees them as specific manifestations of their own time, expressing the intellectual and cultural achievements and ideas of that period.[29] One of the most important contributions to focus on arboreal structures specifically as a means to visualize family relationships is Christiane Klapisch-Zuber's article 'The Genesis of the Family Tree' (1991), which together with other articles on the subject, culminated in her magnum opus on classificatory tree diagrams: the wide-ranging monograph *L'Ombre des ancêtres: essai sur l'imaginaire médiéval de la parenté* (2000).[30] A key issue addressed by Klapisch-Zuber is the use of genealogical trees as a way of imagining and structuring knowledge. This topic has also been explored by Marion Leathers and Paul Grimley Kuntz, Sigrid Weigel, Thomas Macho, Jörg J. Berns, Horst Bredekamp, and Steffen Siegel,[31] to name only some of the important contributors to a field that has become prominent in recent years. Although the thematic focus of these authors is predominantly the hierarchic organization or *aborization* of knowledge in the early modern and modern era, their work is also instructive from a conceptual point of view.[32] Two articles, even though they are not directly concerned with trees, deserve special mention for their methodological relevance: 'Jenseits der Opposition von Text und Bild: Überlegungen zu einer Theorie des Diagramms und des Diagrammatischen' by Steffen Bogen and Felix Thürlemann,[33] and Jeffrey Hamburger's '*Haec figura demonstrat*: Diagrams in an Early-Thirteenth-Century Parisian Copy of Lothar de Segni's *De Missarum Mysteriis*'.[34] To put it pointedly: while Bogen and Thürlemann analyse the semiotic structures of diagrams and — as their title suggests — seek to develop a general theory of diagrams and the diagrammatic, Hamburger explores diagrams as phenomena of a specific historical and theological mindset.[35]

Medieval arboreal imagery invites multidisciplinary research, as its expression in visual terms could overlap and was indeed often preceded by literary evocation of mental images, as in the aforementioned case of Ramon Llull's *Arbor scientiae*. Michelle Karnes's approach to medieval literature, philosophy, and theology, which concentrates on meditation and theories of cognition in the writings of Saint Bonaventure, is particularly instructive in this area of literary research.[36] Mary Franklin-Brown's examination of encyclopaedic texts brings a new focus to arboreal research considering its use in scholastic exegesis and the systematic accumulation and transmission of knowledge.[37] An extensive study by Maryanne Cline Horowitz looks at the representation of nature in philosophical thought, tracing perceptions of the nature of knowledge and its imagery through time and across cultures.[38] Even though this volume focuses mostly on manifestations of the tree in the Christian medieval West, the importance of cross-cultural research is highlighted by the contributions of Zofia Ameisenowa on 'The Tree of Life in Jewish Iconography' (1938–39), Thérèse Metzger on 'L'Arbre dans la litérature et l'iconographie hébraîques' (1990), and Katrin Kogman-Appel on 'The Tree of Death and the Tree of Life: The Hangings of Haman in Medieval Jewish Manuscript Painting' (2005),[39] as well as Cynthia Robinson on 'Trees of Love, Trees of Knowledge: Toward the Definition of a Cross-Confessional Current in Late-Medieval Iberian Spirituality' (2006), who discusses the art of the Iberian peninsula between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries, where trees figured prominently in commissions for all three confessional groups of Jews, Christians, and Muslims.[40]

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[24] Doležalova, *The Making of Memory*; Brenner and others, *Memory and Commemoration in Medieval Culture*.

[25] Schadt, 'Die Arbores bigamiae als heilsgeschichtliche Schemata'; Schadt, *Die Darstellungen der Arbores Consanguinitatis*; and the articles in this volume by Andrea Worm, '*Arbor humanum genus significat*: Trees of Genealogy and Sacred History in the Twelfth Century'; Marigold Anne Norbye, '*Arbor genealogiae*: Manifestations of the Tree in French Royal Genealogies'; Verboon, 'The Medieval Tree of Porphyry'.

[26] Esmeijer, *Divina Quaternitas*. It appears that Esmeijer coined the term 'visual exegesis'.

[27] Evans, 'The Geometry of the Mind'.

[28] Schmitt, 'Les Images classificatrices'.

[29] See also Schmitt, 'Images and the Work of Memory', trans. by Gelin.

[30] Klapisch-Zuber, 'The Genesis of the Family Tree'; Klapisch-Zuber, *L'Ombre des ancêtres*; Klapisch-Zuber, *L'Arbre des familles*; Klapisch-Zuber, 'The Tree'; Klapisch-Zuber, 'L'arbre aux galants'.

[31] Leathers and Kuntz, 'The Symbol of the Tree Interpreted'; Weigel, 'Genealogie: Zur Ikonographie und Rhetorik'; Macho, 'Stammbäume, Freiheitsbäume und Geniereligion'; Berns, 'Baumsprache und Sprachbaum'; Bredekamp, *Darwins Korallen*; Siegel, *Tabula*; Siegel, 'Wissen, das auf Bäumen wächst'; Siegel, 'Im Wald des Wissens'.

[32] See also Serres, 'Les Traductions de l'arbre'.

[33] Bogen and Thürlemann, 'Jenseits der Opposition von Text und Bild'.

[34] Hamburger, '*Haec figura demonstrat*'.

[35] Hamburger and Bouché, *The Mind's Eye*, provides an extensive and varied examination of 'the relationship between thinking and seeing, perception and the imagination' (p. 4).

One of the aims of the present volume is to draw attention to the various interconnections and cross-currents between allegorical, symbolic, and structural uses of trees, because all these qualities coexist in the images under consideration, albeit to different degrees. As a set of case studies, the volume examines a wide range of art of different media, periods, and geographic regions; examples include stained-glass windows in France and England, Italian sculpture, as well as illuminated manuscripts, and monumental painting from different areas of the Western Christian tradition. The articles highlight aspects such as the Tree of Jesse iconography in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the role of the tree schemata in genealogical contexts, the importance of trees as a structuring and mnemonic device, the connection and interplay between the tree as symbol and metaphor, and the way in which trees are regarded and interpreted in logic and theological exegesis. As a unified volume, it not only seeks to explore some of the many adaptations and interpretations of the tree motif, but also offers a close examination of the intellectual tradition behind this archetypical image.

The first set of articles explores the role of tree imagery in representing genealogy and sacred and profane history. In the chapter '*Stirps Jesse in capite ecclesiae*: Iconographic and Liturgical Readings of the Tree of Jesse in Stained-Glass Windows', Marie-Pierre Gelin analyses the location of the Tree of Jesse in sacred space and how it functioned within and organized its environment. Numerous examples of the Tree of Jesse still survive in the glazing programmes of churches and cathedrals; more than fifty examples in France alone testify to the immense popularity of the motif. The article sheds new light on the spatial and liturgical context of these windows. It also demonstrates how the Tree of Jesse windows interact with liturgical practice and with the theological texts they are based on. It is significant that the Tree of Jesse frequently occurs in contexts which also include other representations of Christ's ancestors. Gelin's work draws attention to the peculiarities of the Tree of Jesse motif, with its multilayered theological associations, but also, in a more general sense, the allegorical value of arboreal structures. Apart from the exegetical connotations of the image of the Tree of Jesse and its derivatives, the tree presented itself as an ideal model for genealogical and historical structures: the inherent historical and temporal dimension of arboreal iconography is explored in two subsequent contributions by Andrea Worm and Marigold Anne Norbye.

Andrea Worm's article, '*Arbor humanum genus significat*: Trees of Genealogy and Sacred History in the Twelfth Century', analyses different representations of genealogy and sacred history in diagrammatic and arboreal form. The point of departure is an examination of the Bible manuscripts of Parc, Floreffe, and Foigny, which contain extensive stemmata of the genealogy of Christ based on the Gospels. Worm shows how in the later twelfth century, the interest shifts from representing genealogy to representing universal history in Peter of Poitiers's *Compendium historiae in genealogia Christi*, which became widely influential throughout the later Middle Ages and the early modern period. While both the stemmata in the Bible manuscripts as well as Peter of Poitiers's *arbores historiarum* appear as abstract diagrammatic renderings, the last example under consideration, Joachim of Fiore's *Liber figurarum*, uses a much more pictorial language, which vividly expresses his speculative theology of history and time evolving through different stages towards perfection. In the context of 'arborization' of historical knowledge, it is remarkable that Trees of Consanguinity appear frequently within historical works, which has seldom been noted. In a rather abstract manner they represent the degrees of family relationships and are usually associated with legal texts concerning marriage and laws of succession. In historical contexts, Worm argues, they create a connection between both aspects of genealogical history: the individual and the universal. This explains why in the three Bible manuscripts under consideration, the Tree of Consanguinity is explicitly interpreted as an image of universal history, and even as an image of the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil itself.

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[36] Karnes, *Imagination, Meditation, and Cognition*.

[37] Franklin-Brown, *Reading the World*.

[38] Horowitz, *Seeds of Virtue and Knowledge*; see also Demandt, *Über allen Wipfeln*.

[39] Ameisenowa, 'The Tree of Life in Jewish Iconography'; Metzger, 'L'Arbre dans la litérature et l'iconographie hébraîques'; Kogman-Appel, 'The Tree of Death and the Tree of Life'.

[40] Robinson, 'Trees of Love, Trees of Knowledge'.

Arboreal diagrams quickly became popular, and by the thirteenth century, there were numerous adaptions and variations of Peter of Poitiers's *Compendium historiae*. These are the subject of the article by Marigold Anne Norbye on '*Arbor genealogiae*: Manifestations of the Tree in French Royal Genealogies'. Norbye surveys genealogical diagrams of the kings of France in the context of genealogical chronicles. She explores the visual aspects of some of these figures, in particular those adopting deliberately vegetal arboreal forms. Beginning with Bernard Gui in his *Arbor genealogiae*, some scribes or artists played on the conceit of the 'tree' and sought to represent a botanical tree in their genealogical diagrams. The explicit or inherent vegetal symbolism not only enriches the meaning of these genealogical tables, but also greatly enhances their visual appeal. Regarding the conceptual design of these trees, both Worm and Norbye in their articles draw attention to the fact that the direction of reading these genealogical diagrams — most of them read top to bottom — contradicts the actual direction of the growth of a tree. Thus, these examples demonstrate that the term *arbor*, 'tree', could be used independent of such considerations, to designate structures that are characterized by lineage and ramifications.

Annemieke Verboon's article continues the theme of 'reading arboreal diagrams' with an analysis of 'The Medieval Tree of Porphyry: The Logic, Organic, and Diagrammatic Structure'. The Tree of Porphyry is a visual figure drawn in handbooks of rudimentary logic and features in works widely used as textbooks such as Boethius's Commentary on the *Isagoge*, and later, in the thirteenth century, in Peter of Spain's *Tractatus*. In the *Tractatus*, the Tree of Porphyry became immensely popular, and only at this stage was the formerly abstract figure drawn to resemble a naturalistic tree, with a trunk, branches, leaves, and fruit. The essay examines the transition from an abstract tree to a recognizable botanical image and explains why 'reading' the information contained in the Tree of Porphyry does not correspond to the logic of the growth of a tree: the Tree of Porphyry is — like most genealogical stemmata — a downwards oriented structure. Verboon argues that the arborization of the image helps the reader memorize one specific structure while bringing to mind other trees. 'Arborization' as a rhetorical instrument was an extremely useful tool for the *artes praedicandi* in the Middle Ages, when books were costly, and wisdom and knowledge were therefore largely entrusted to memory.

Susanne Wittekind examines the aesthetic appeal and multilayered meaning of trees in her article 'Visualizing Salvation: The Role of Arboreal Imagery in the *Speculum humanae salvationis* (Kremsmünster, Library of the Convent, Cod. 243)'. She analyses how different arboreal forms within the same manuscript invite reflection on the meaning of the motif in different contexts of salvation history and explains how trees and arboreal imagery are used to create a system of visual cross-references. The *Speculum humanae salvationis* — a fourteenth-century typological treatise that is almost always illustrated — relies heavily on pictorial analogies to underline the typological argument put forward in the text. In the Kremsmünster-codex, the *Speculum humanae salvationis* is framed by further 'arboreal' material: the Trees of Virtues and Vices, the Tree of Jesse, the Genealogy of Christ, and Trees of Consanguinity and Affinity. The two parallel planes of image and text were to be read contemporaneously and eventually inform each other in reciprocal dialogue. A series of arboreal arguments was carefully designed to highlight different aspects of Salvation History.

The next set of essays deals with a theme of fundamental importance to understanding arboreal imagery in the Middle Ages: the Tree of Life and its various visual renderings in images of the Fall of Man and other biblical contexts. Ute Dercks focuses on 'Two Trees in Paradise? A Case Study on the Iconography of the Tree of Knowledge and the Tree of Life in Italian Romanesque Sculpture'. In her article she notes that the number and species of trees which determined the fate of humankind in the Garden of Eden remain ambiguous. While this ambiguity characterized both biblical texts and medieval exegesis, in the visual arts a choice had to be made regarding the type of tree to be depicted. As a result pictorial representations of the Tree of Knowledge and the Tree of Life vary a great deal between individual commissions. Dercks concentrates on representations of the Tree of Knowledge in Romanesque sculpture, which was characterized by a keen interest in natural forms and a growing ability to represent them. In her concluding argument, Dercks's comparative analysis of trees in depictions of the Fall of Man and calendar representations of the labours of the months demonstrates how sculptors initially introduced the first signs of realistic representation to their audience through the depiction of distinct species of plants. Where, therefore, the species of the trees depicted remains unidentifiable, this is — at least for the twelfth and thirteenth centuries — a purposeful iconographic statement.

Barbara Baert and Liesbet Kusters in their joint article consider 'The Tree as Narrative, Formal, and Allegorical Index in Representations of the *Noli me tangere*'. The Gospel of John 20. 17 describes how Christ forbids Mary Magdalene to touch him after his resurrection with the words 'Noli me tangere' ('Do not touch me'). The scene takes places in the garden, where the tomb of Christ was situated. Baert and Kusters establish that the tree used to indicate the garden location is often laden with ulterior meaning. First, it serves as a narrative and formal index, not only because it designates the garden as the location where the event takes place, but also because it functions as a compositional device, separating Mary Magdalene from the risen Christ. It can also be an allegorical index in its allusion to the Tree of Life and to the cross, identified with the Tree of Life in exegesis. The typological connection is taken one step further in texts and images which interpret Mary Magdalene as the New Eve. The authors demonstrate that this parallel identification is not only common in exegesis but also explicit in the iconography of a number of images.

Of particular interest is the use of arboreal imagery by the newly established mendicant orders in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Ulrike Ilg's essay '*Quasi lignum vitae*: The Tree of Life as an Image of Mendicant Identity' considers how the tree functions as a mnemonic device, linking history to doctrinal teaching of the Eucharist and the salvation of mankind in Franciscan representations of the *Lignum vitae*. The *Lignum vitae*, based on Saint Bonaventure's treatise, which encouraged contemplation of the life, Passion, and resurrection of Christ, was originally intended for chanted performance. Bonaventure associated knowledge acquisition with the senses and the act of imagination. So vivid was the imagery in the text that diagrammatic illustrations soon spontaneously appeared in the manuscript copies, and the first monumental versions of the motif were painted at the beginning of the fourteenth century. Ilg focuses on two of the earliest monumental paintings of the subject which were produced for the Franciscan convents of Santa Croce and Santa Maria a Monticelli in Florence. According to Ilg the inclusion of notable Franciscans in both iconographic programmes suggested that the order occupied a privileged position in the history of salvation to the contemporary viewer. Furthermore, the physical location of Taddeo Gaddi's image in the Santa Croce refectory, the centre of the Franciscan convent as it were, evokes the Tree of Life in the middle of Paradise, Ilg argues. The article concludes examining the final dissemination of the *Lignum vitae* iconography, which in losing its eucharistic connotations became increasingly popular as a genealogical motif in early fifteenth-century mendicant commissions of both the Franciscans and the Dominicans.

Pippa Salonius's article '*Arbor Jesse – Lignum vitae*: The Tree of Jesse, the Tree of Life, and the Mendicants in Late Medieval Orvieto' deals with the façade of the cathedral of Orvieto, which is an extremely sophisticated example of fourteenth-century arboreal imagery and contains one of the most complex representations of the Tree of Jesse in western European monumental art. The highly ambitious narrative programme on the cathedral, which presents a sculpted survey of sacred history from the Creation to the Last Judgement embedded in four monumental trees, is considered in relation to an early wall painting of Bonaventure's *Lignum vitae*, located in another prominent church of the same city, San Giovenale. Salonius evaluates the possible influences of eastern motifs and analyses the iconographic similarities between the Tree of Jesse on the cathedral in Orvieto and contemporary wall paintings in Serbia. The article emphasizes how remarkable a choice the tree motif as a structuring device is in both these commissions — the façade of the cathedral and San Giovenale — and points to the court of the Franciscan pope Nicholas IV and the writings of the Franciscan saint Bonaventure as a possible common source.

The spatial and social context of the image and the environment within which it functions is an aspect of great importance to many contributions in this volume. In the exemplary case of the Tree of Jesse, which appears in a variety of media, ranging from illuminated manuscripts to stained glass and monumental sculpture, the surrounding physical, liturgical, and social environment is of crucial importance. Different media make representations not only accessible to a diverse audience, but also render them subject to different modes of perception. In this context, it is worth noting that images like the tree in Bonaventure's *Lignum vitae* or the trees in Ramon Llull's *Arbor scientiae* first occurred as mental images, before they became visually manifest in manuscripts and, in the case of the *Lignum vitae*, in monumental art. Images also interact with each other across time, space, and media. They do so in the *physical space* of their individual setting, be it within a manuscript or the monumental space of a church, but also in the *mental space* of the beholder's mind and imagination, where they can also evoke other absent images. This evocative quality is not unique to the tree and arboreal imagery. Yet few other motifs function at so many levels of reference and lend themselves to allegory so readily.

The essays in this volume demonstrate how themes and topics are connected visually, conceptually, and even in their use of arboreal terminology. Hopefully our contribution and acknowledgement of the tree as one of the finest instruments for the transmission and acquisition of knowledge of the later Middle Ages and early modern period will encourage others in their own exploration, leading to further ramifications and growth in the argument.

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Stirps Jesse in capite ecclesiae: Iconographic and Liturgical Readings of the Tree of Jesse in Stained-Glass Windows

Marie-Pierre Gelin

In 1144, Abbot Suger described the new iconographic programme he had commissioned for the stained-glass windows enclosing the eastern end of the rebuilt Abbey Church of Saint-Denis:

> Vitrearum etiam novarum praeclaram varietatem, ab ea prima quae incipit a Stirps Jesse in capite ecclesiae, usque ad eam quae superest principali portae in introitu ecclesiae, tam superius quam inferius, magistrorum multorum de diversibus nationibus mani exquisita, depingi fecimus.
>
> [Moreover we caused to be painted, by the exquisite hands of many masters from different regions, a splendid variety of new windows, both below and above; from the first one which begins [the series] with the *Stirps Jesse* in the chevet of the church to that which is installed above the principal door in the church's entrance.][1]

Over the next decades, stained glass became one of the most popular techniques used for the decoration and embellishment of churches in medieval Europe, and the motif of the *Stirps Jesse* was one of the most commonly illustrated in this medium. In the 1140s when Suger was writing, the use of stained-glass windows on such a grand scale as he had planned for Saint-Denis was so much of an innovation that he described their images and inscriptions in great detail.[2] Unfortunately Suger did not provide a more detailed description of the window mentioned in the passage quoted here, the one he called *Stirps Jesse*, though parts of the original glazing are still visible today in the abbey church (Figure 2.1).[3]

The motif Suger referred to is now more commonly known as a Tree of Jesse, and various interpretations of this iconographic theme occur in medieval art from the end of the eleventh century onwards.[4] In particular, it became a popular image for the windows of many of the cathedral, abbey, and parish churches which were being built, rebuilt, or expanded in northern France and England during the second half of the twelfth and the first quarter of the thirteenth centuries. According to a recent estimate, more than fifty examples of Tree of Jesse windows can still be seen today in French churches, and this figure does not account for those which have been lost since the Middle Ages.[5]

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[1] *Abbot Suger on the Abbey Church*, ed. by Panofsky, pp. 72–74. Panofsky translated *Stirps Jesse* as 'Tree of Jesse'.

[2] *Abbot Suger on the Abbey Church*, ed. by Panofsky, pp. 74–76.

[3] The Jesse Tree window visible today in Saint-Denis (window S-I) was mostly re-created in 1848 by Viollet-le-Duc, who based parts of his design on the Chartres window. Though several panels contain medieval glass, only five figures are original (Christ, the Virgin, two Kings, and a prophet), and the lower registers seem to have been invented by Viollet-le-Duc. Grodecki, *Les Vitraux de Saint-Denis*, pp. 64, 71–73.

[4] Bibliography on the iconography of the Tree of Jesse includes Watson, *The Early Iconography of the Tree of Jesse*; Schiller, *Iconography of Christian Art*, trans. by Seligman, I: *Christ's Incarnation. Childhood. Baptism. Temptation. Transfiguration. Works and Miracles* (1971), pp. 15–22, figs 17–43; Bogen, 'Träumt Jesse?'. See also articles about specific examples of Trees of Jesse: Watson, 'The Image of the Tree of Jesse'; Johnson, 'The Tree of Jesse Window of Chartres'; Taylor, 'The Prophetic Scenes'; Taylor, 'A Historiated Tree of Jesse'; Little, 'An Ivory Tree of Jesse from Bamberg'; Pastan, '"And he shall gather together the dispersed"'. For discussion of representations of the motif in monumental art in Italy and Eastern Europe, and a list of Eastern European examples, see the article in this volume by Pippa Salonius, '*Arbor Jesse – Lignum vitae*: The Tree of Jesse, the Tree of Life, and the Mendicants in Late Medieval Orvieto'.

[5] Manhès-Deremble, *Les Vitraux narratifs*, p. 239.

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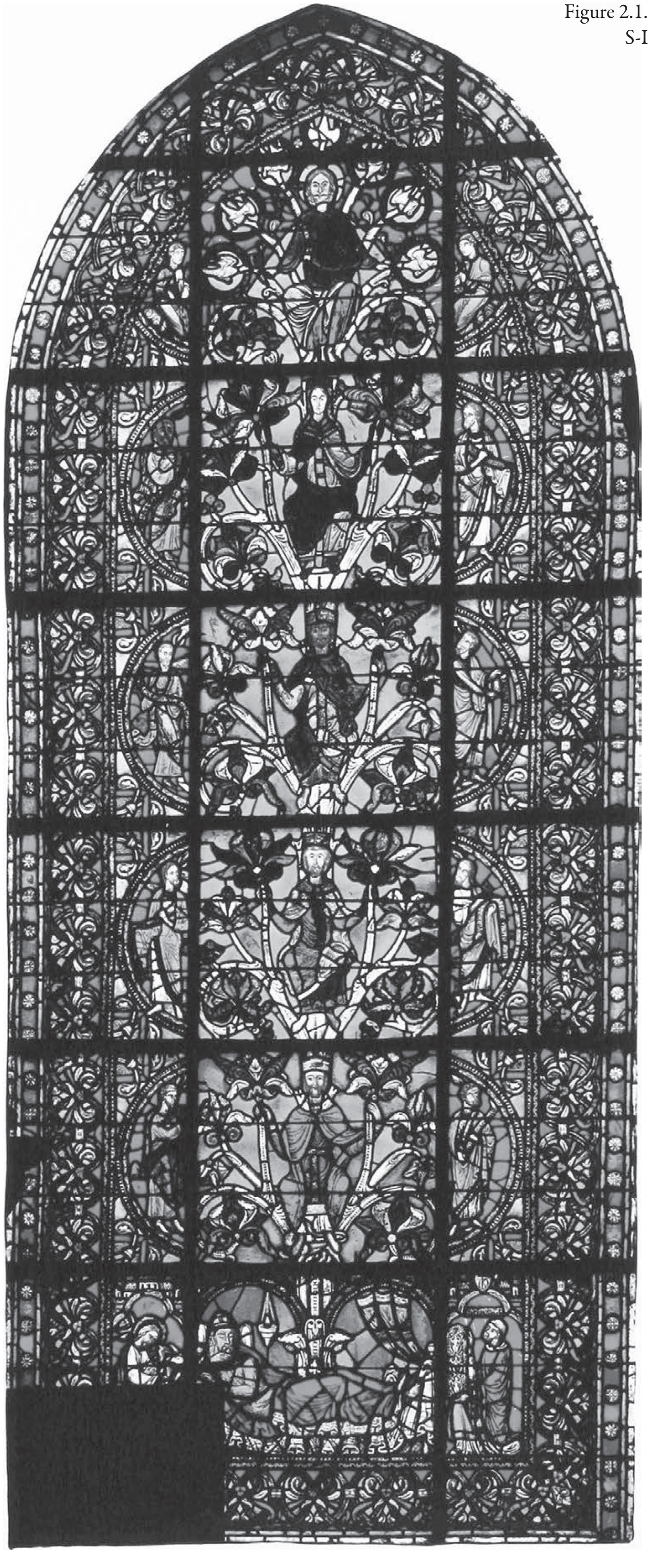

Figure 2.1. (Plate 1, p. xiii) 'Tree of Jesse', Saint-Denis, Abbey Church, window S-I. *c.* 1140. Photo courtesy of the Courtauld Institute of Art, London.

This paper will concentrate on representations of the Tree of Jesse in stained-glass windows in cathedrals of northern France and England and explore some of the reasons for the enormous popularity of the motif in stained glass between *c.* 1140 and *c.* 1250. It will analyse why the motif was included in some of the greatest iconographic programmes of the medieval period. Although the Tree of Jesse has often been interpreted as an illustration of the genealogy of Christ, the subject has multiple layers of meaning. Suger's mention of the Tree of Jesse window in his abbey church provides us with a starting point for this analysis. His description of the 'variety of new windows' hints at how novel such a scheme was in the early 1140s, and more importantly still, it reveals that the windows were deliberately placed in a specific order. Described by Suger as being the 'beginning', the 'opening' (*incipit*), of the series of windows planned for the choir of his new church and located in the axial chapel of the ambulatory, dedicated to the Virgin Mary, the Tree of Jesse window obviously fulfilled, in Suger's mind and probably also in the minds of later patrons and viewers, an important role in the organization of the iconographic programme as a whole. It is significant that this is the only instance where Suger actually *names* the subject of the window, and this highlights the importance of the subject. Furthermore, a close relationship between the Tree of Jesse window and the liturgical practices of the Church is demonstrated by the fact that the window received, in Suger's text as well as in other sources of the period, the same name as a very important liturgical chant, the responsory *Stirps Jesse*, sung during Advent.[6]

The motif of the Tree of Jesse, like many other medieval iconographic motifs which found expression in the monumental art of medieval churches and cathedrals, has rarely been considered from the point of view of its contribution to the constitution of a sacred space for liturgical rituals. The inclusion of the motif in such areas

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[6] Cf. Boynton, *Shaping a Monastic Identity*, pp. 54–62.

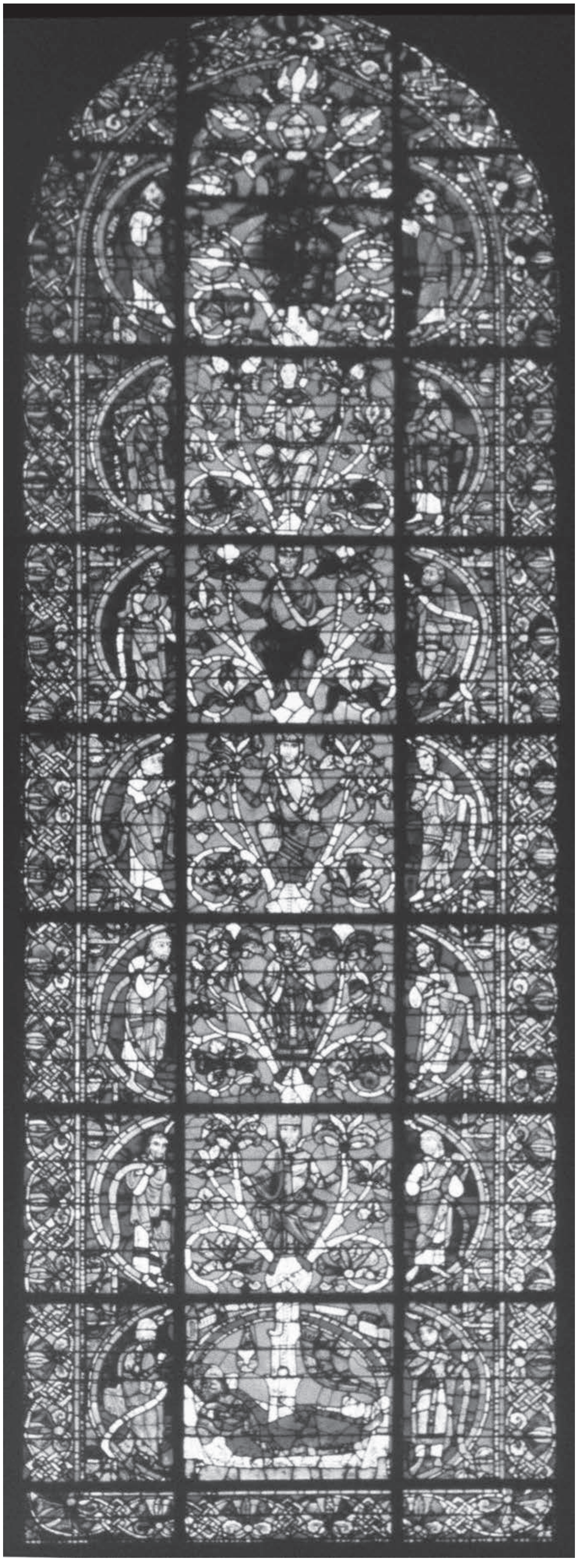

Figure 2.2. 'Tree of Jesse', Chartres, Cathedral of Notre-Dame, window 49. *c*. 1150. Photo courtesy of the Centre André Chastel, Paris.

as the naves and choirs of the great gothic cathedrals may be an indication of how the theme of the *Stirps Jesse* was understood — and maybe used — in these locations where important liturgical rituals were celebrated. Furthermore, I will argue that it provided a blueprint for the organization not only of the sacred space within the church and the ceremonies which took place there, but also, by extension, of the way sacred history was perceived and presented in medieval churches. As the point of convergence between Old Testament and New Testament stories and theology and an articulation of both biblical exegesis and hagiographical narrative, the Tree of Jesse window provided a flexible, engaging and lucid summary of the history of salvation.

The Tree of Jesse in Stained Glass

The Tree of Jesse continued to be an immensely popular choice of iconography for patrons and glaziers until the end of the Middle Ages. In particular during the second half of the twelfth century and the beginning of the thirteenth century, stained glass became one of the most important media used to decorate churches and cathedrals.[7] Changes in taste and technique can account for the success of this art form, which allowed both narrative development and theological exposition.[8] This development in the use of stained glass as one of the foremost decorative arts in Western churches coincided with major rebuilding and remodelling campaigns of ecclesiastical structures across northern Europe in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. Many of the great abbey churches and cathedrals, especially in France and England, were indeed extensively redesigned on a grand scale, often following accidental damage or destruction (usually by fire), as was the case, for instance at Notre-Dame of Chartres and at Christ Church, Canterbury.[9]

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[7] The various volumes compiled under the aegis of the International Committee of the *Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi*, which aims at producing a detailed inventory of all the medieval windows still in existence (in religious buildings as well as museums and private collections), are testimony to the extent of the popularity and sophistication of the medium between the twelfth and the sixteenth centuries.

[8] On the development of stained glass as a narrative medium, see Kemp, *The Narratives of Gothic Stained Glass*.

[9] Chartres was partially destroyed in 1194 and was rebuilt

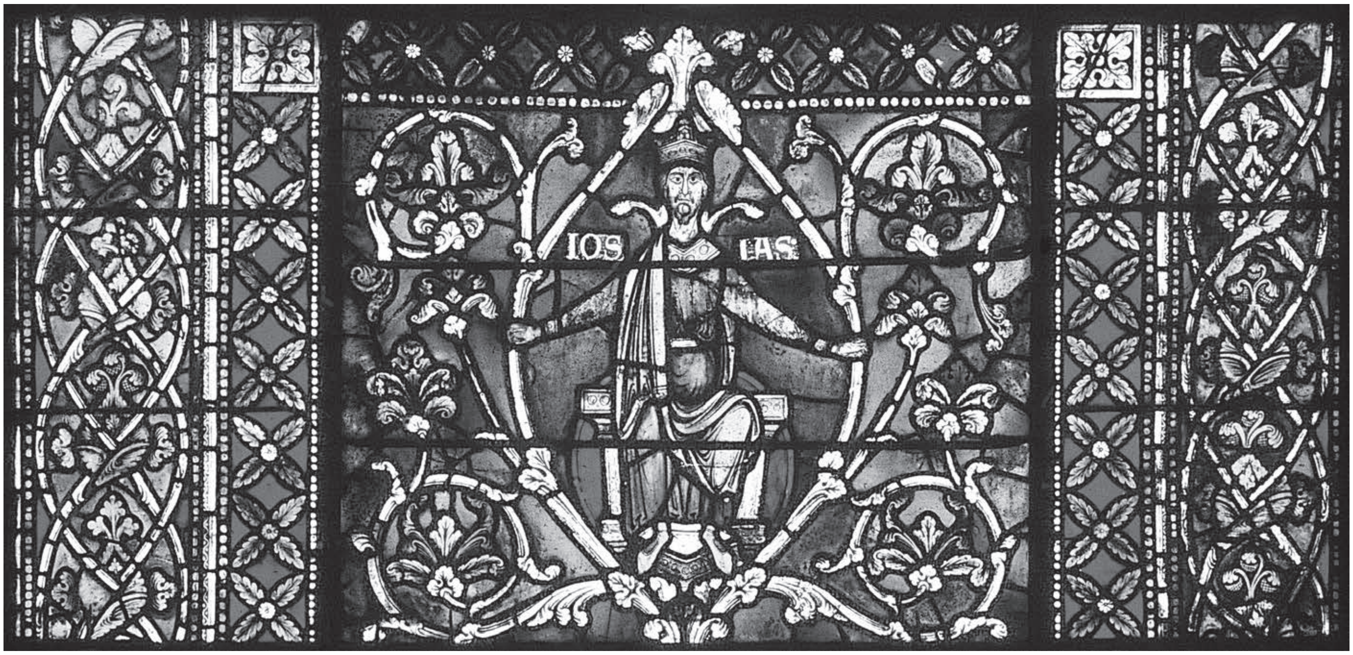

Figure 2.3. 'King Josiah from Tree of Jesse', Canterbury, Christ Church Cathedral, Corona Chapel, window III (detail), panel 5. *c.* 1200. © Crown copyright. EH.

At times renovations updated buildings perceived as old-fashioned and decrepit, as was the case at Saint-Denis.[10]

Although no new feature in itself, painted and stained glass had never been used before on such a grand scale.[11] After the rebuilding of Saint-Denis in the 1140s, windows containing representations of the Tree of Jesse became common and examples were included in the glazing programmes of the renovated cathedral churches of Chartres (*c.* 1150) (Figure 2.2), York (*c.* 1150), Canterbury (*c.* 1200) (Figure 2.3), Soissons (before 1212), Troyes (*c.* 1220) (Figure 2.4), Le Mans (*c.* 1235), Auxerre, Angers, and Beauvais (the final three windows all date to the second quarter of the thirteenth century).[12] The earlier examples — Saint-Denis, Chartres, and Canterbury — will be the focus of the analysis here, although the other windows will also be included in the discussion.[13] In this vast geographical area, the motif seems to have enjoyed particular popularity, and stylistic links have been established between some of the windows (Saint-Denis and Chartres, Chartres and Canterbury). This suggests that the glaziers moved between building sites, a fact which must have contributed to the success and diffusion of a relatively stable iconographic formula.

In its most common form, the window shows the trunk of a tree emerging from the reclining figure of Jesse, who is shown sleeping in most cases (Figures 2.1, 2.2, 2.4, 2.5, 2.6, 2.9, 6.1, 6.4, and 10.7).[14] Above Jesse, sitting on or enclosed within the branches of the tree,

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extremely rapidly, possibly within twenty years. The windows may have been put in place at the same time as the walls and vaults were being constructed or very soon after their completion (Manhès-Deremble, *Les Vitraux narratifs*, pp. 9–17). The eastern end of Christ Church, Canterbury, was damaged by fire in 1174, and the rebuilding campaign, begun the following year, probably completed the choir by 1184, although the glazing, especially in the Trinity Chapel and the Corona, may have been completed only in the second decade of the thirteenth century; see Gervase of Canterbury, *Tractatus de combustione et reparatione Cantuariensis ecclesie*, ed. by Stubbs, pp. 3–29; Caviness, *The Windows of Christ Church Cathedral Canterbury*, p. 163.

[10] *Abbot Suger on the Abbey Church*, ed. by Panofsky, pp. 42–44.

[11] Higgins, 'Origins, Materials and the Glazier's Art', p. 32. In the same book, Virginia C. Raguin summarizes the development of stained glass as the favoured means of decorating new churches in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries; see Raguin, 'The Revival of Monumental Architecture'.

[12] For the dating of these windows, and a discussion of their stylistic relationships, see Grodecki and Brisac, *Gothic Stained Glass*.

[13] Only an extremely damaged single panel survives from the window in York Minster. Stylistically, however, it seems to belong to the Saint-Denis–Chartres group. Caviness, *The Windows of Christ Church Cathedral Canterbury*, p. 173.

[14] The motif received a different treatment in other media and may vary from the description given here. For examples see the literature quoted in note 4 and the article in this volume by Salonius, '*Arbor Jesse – Lignum vitae*'.

appear several figures seated one above the other and facing the viewer. They usually include several kings (their number varies from place to place), the Virgin Mary, and at the very top of the tree, Christ, who is often surrounded by doves representing the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit. Figures of prophets are often, but by no means always, included in the representation.[15] They are usually situated on either side of each central figure and are rarely included within the branches of the tree. Sometimes represented on a smaller scale than the central figures, the prophets usually turn towards them or point at them. They often carry scrolls, which occasionally display verses taken from their prophecies (Figures 2.2, 2.10).[16]

Among all these figures, only Christ and his mother are readily identifiable, as generally neither the kings nor the prophets are named. The Canterbury Tree of Jesse (Figure 2.3) appears to have been an exception, if the sole surviving figure of King Josiah, which is clearly labelled, can be assumed to be representative of the other lost figures. The kings can, however, sometimes be identified by the attributes they hold in their hands, such as a musical instrument for King David, as can be seen at Troyes or Angers (Figure 2.5). In the group under consideration here, minor differences can be noted in the way the figures are included within the tree. In the oldest windows, at Saint-Denis (Figure 2.1) and Chartres (Figure 2.2), the branches of the tree sway freely around the seated figures, who hold on to them with both hands as if anxious not to fall from their precarious positions. Most later windows, including Canterbury, show the figures safely enclosed within the branches of the tree. The foliage meets above their heads to form the shape of a mandorla (Figures 2.3, 2.4), which is reminiscent of the mandorla framing Christ in representations of the Last Judgement or the Majestas Domini. The attitude of the figures in these Trees appears more relaxed, and they do not necessarily hold on to the branches that encircle them. As a result their relation with the tree appears less organic — less integral, less natural — and the branches seem to provide merely a decorative framework for them. The figures also interact more with the viewer, as they hold out their hands in gestures denoting acceptance or greeting (such as the Virgin of the Auxerre Tree or Christ at Angers) or direct the viewer's gaze upwards

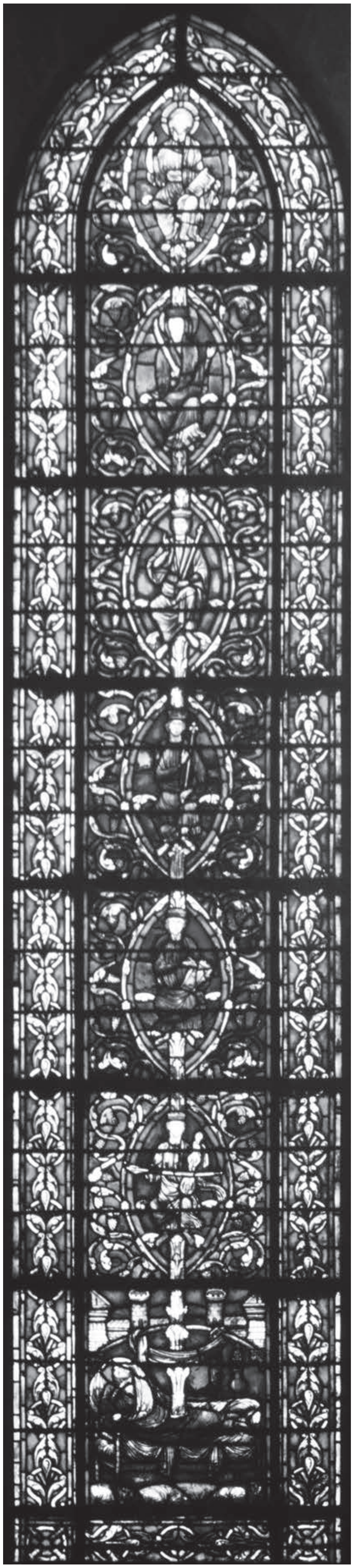

Figure 2.4. 'Tree of Jesse', Troyes, Cathedral of Saint-Pierre, window 31. *c.* 1220. Photo courtesy of the Centre André Chastel, Paris.

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[15] It is unclear whether the Canterbury tree included figures of prophets, as its original location is not known. Caviness, 'The Canterbury Jesse Tree Window', p. 374.

[16] Grodecki, *Les Vitraux de Saint-Denis*, p. 72.

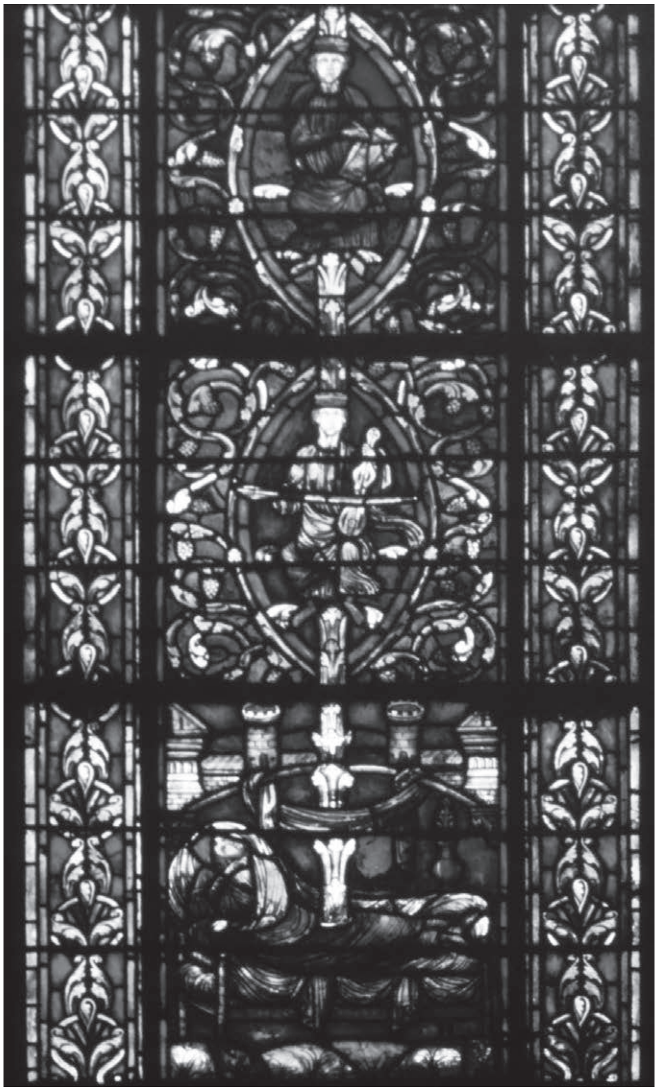

Figure 2.5. 'Jesse asleep and two Kings holding musical instruments from Tree of Jesse', Troyes, Cathedral of Saint-Pierre, window 31 (detail). *c.* 1220. Photo courtesy of the Centre André Chastel, Paris.

with one hand, as in the Troyes window.[17] The kings, the Virgin, and Christ are usually seated on what appear to be branches sprouting from the central trunk and fanning outwards to provide a seating area. An exception to the rule is the window at Canterbury, where the glazier provided the figures with throne-like seats (Figure 2.3).

The motif of the Tree of Jesse is based on the text of the prophecy of Isaiah 11. 1–3:

> And there shall come forth a rod out of the root of Jesse, and a flower shall rise up out of his root. And the spirit of the Lord shall rest upon him: the spirit of wisdom, and of understanding, the spirit of counsel, and of fortitude, the spirit of knowledge, and of godliness. And he shall be filled with the spirit of the fear of the Lord.

All the windows under consideration here offer a literal illustration of this text, with Jesse at the root of the 'rod' or tree, and Christ seated at the top, surrounded by seven doves symbolizing the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit (Figure 2.2).

By the mid-1140s, when Suger chose to have an entire window dedicated to the depiction of the Tree of Jesse, the theology of the Tree of Jesse was already well established. Interpreted as foretelling the coming of Christ, Isaiah's prophecy had been glossed and explained by theologians since the early centuries of Christianity.[18] Although the motif 'seems to spring fully formed from exegetical heads in the early decades of the twelfth century',[19] its use in a monumental form within spaces dedicated to the celebration of liturgical rituals as well as its close links with popular liturgical texts and chants no doubt point towards a strong liturgical and devotional connection. Isaiah's Messianic prophecy was interpreted not only as foretelling the coming of Christ, but also as justifying the role of Mary in Christ's descent. The *virga* of the prophecy was identified with the *Virgo*, the Virgin Mary, who was to bear the Messiah, Christ (cf. Isaiah 7. 10–14).

The Tree of Jesse motif became widely disseminated in stained-glass windows at a time when ecclesiastics were theorizing the links between exegesis, theology, and art.[20] It was also the moment of the great church councils held at the Lateran Palace in 1179 and 1215, which redefined key theological concepts, such as the doctrine of transubstantiation, and the principal tenets of the Christian faith, such as the Trinity or the Incarnation. These councils also fought against ideas regarded as heretical and placed increasing emphasis on the religious education, not only of clerics, but also of the laity.[21] The didactic dimension of the Tree of Jesse window must have been particularly appealing to reforming prelates. The considerable success of the motif in many media seems to show that it provided patrons and audiences with a synthetic design, which allowed viewers to grasp the basic concepts of their faith and limited their margin for error.

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[17] In a similar manner it is typical for the Virgin in Annunciation scenes to hold her hand up to her chest, palm facing outwards, signifying her acceptance of the angel's message. Garnier, *Le Language de l'image au Moyen Âge*, pp. 174–75.

[18] Watson, *The Early Iconography of the Tree of Jesse*, chap. 1; cf. also bibliography cited above in note 4.

[19] Fassler, 'Mary's Nativity', p. 390.

[20] Manhès-Deremble, *Les Vitraux narratifs*, p. 30; Hamburger, 'The Place of Theology in Medieval Art History'.

[21] Foreville, *Latran I, II, III et Latran IV*, pp. 210–23 (Third Lateran Council) and pp. 342–86 (Fourth Lateran Council).

Watson concluded from his iconographic survey that not all representations were dependent on a single model and that the design and its meaning varied substantially depending on the geographic and historical context of the image.[22] He also pointed out that the motif was commonly referred to as *virga* and *stirps Jesse*, both names referring at the same time to the textual sources for the motif, the biblical prophecy, and the liturgical responsory, rather than to the actual form the illustration took. It could be argued that the term 'Tree of Jesse' owes more to the development of its iconography — especially in the medium of stained glass — and to the association of that iconography with genealogy than to its liturgical connotations. Indeed, in its earliest manifestations and most common form, the motif was, as we have seen, a relatively literal illustration of the prophecy of Isaiah. The visual illustration of the prophecy, along with the term 'Tree of Jesse', no doubt accounts for the ease with which the motif can be labelled and explained as a 'genealogy of Christ'. The tree motif, with the seated figures enclosed in foliage or clutching the branches of the tree linked the history of salvation to an organic metaphor of growth. Furthermore, its quasi-narrative form allowed its creators and patrons to present the history of salvation as a linear process and to make it all the more striking for being so easy to read and comprehend, at least on a literal level.

The use of the term *Stirps Jesse* associated the iconographic formula with its prophetic source, but also linked it to the celebration of the liturgy, in particular the responsory of the same name, composed by Bishop Fulbert of Chartres in around 1000:

> Stirps Jesse virgam produxit, virgaque florem,
> Et super hunc florem requiescit Spiritus almus
> Virga Dei genitrix Virgo est, flos filius eius.
>
> [The root of Jesse produced a rod, and the rod
> produced a flower,
> And on the flower the nurturing Spirit rests
> The rod is the Virgin, who gave birth to God,
> the flower is her Son.][23]

The fact that Suger chose to describe his achievement using this term indicates how strongly his perception of the iconographic decoration of his church was linked to its liturgical practices. It does indeed seem that, at least for Suger, the definition of the new liturgical space he had created for the abbey church was best done through the description of the images he had chosen to place there. Conversely, the images he had selected could only become significant when looked at and explained in relation to the ritual space they were used to create and define.

Liber generationis — *A Genealogical Tree?*

The Tree of Jesse is probably most commonly interpreted as representing a summary of the royal genealogy of Christ as presented at the opening of St Matthew's Gospel (Matthew 1. 1–14). That the Tree of Jesse was often depicted in this position at the opening of the New Testament in illuminated manuscripts seems to strengthen the interpretation of the motif as an abbreviated version of this lineage.[24] In fact, the earliest known illustration of a Tree of Jesse appears precisely in this context: at the beginning of the so-called *Vyšehrad Codex*, a Gospel book from Bohemia, datable to 1086 (Figure 2.6).[25] Here, however, the series of portraits of Christ's ancestors and the exegetical images of the *porta clausa* and of the Tree of Jesse were set apart and treated in individual images. From the twelfth and thirteenth centuries onwards, the motif of the Tree of Jesse frequently occurred at the beginning of Matthew's Gospel, as is the case with the *Vyšehrad Codex* (Figure 2.6) and the *Capuchins' Bible* (Figure 10.7), but also as an opening page to the picture cycles in Psalter manuscripts. Both these associations point to some of the most important meanings which were attributed to the motif: its strong genealogical theme, in particular when located next to the opening verses of Matthew's Gospel, which list Christ's genealogy in great detail; its position as a hinge between the Old and New Testaments; and its close links with the

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[22] Watson, *The Early Iconography of the Tree of Jesse*, pp. 145–46.

[23] Fassler, 'Mary's Nativity', pp. 420–21.

[24] See for instance London, BL, MS Cotton Nero C IV, fol. 9^{r} (Watson, *The Early Iconography of the Tree of Jesse*, pl. XVII), London, BL, MS Lansdowne, 383, fol. 15^{r} (Watson, *The Early Iconography of the Tree of Jesse*, pl. XVIII), or Trier Cathedral, MS 142 A. 124, fol. 1^{r} (Watson, *The Early Iconography of the Tree of Jesse*, pl. XIX).

[25] Prague, National Libr., MS XIV A 13, fol. 4^{v}; for a recent discussion of this important illumination, see Hayes Williams, 'The Earliest Dated Tree of Jesse'. Pippa Salonius points to another early drawing of the Tree of Jesse in a Byzantine manuscript, which has been dated to the third quarter of the eleventh century: *Tree of Jesse*, Rome, BAV, MS gr. 333 (*Book of Kings*, 1050–75); see the article in this volume by Salonius, '*Arbor Jesse – Lignum vitae*', Figure 10.5.

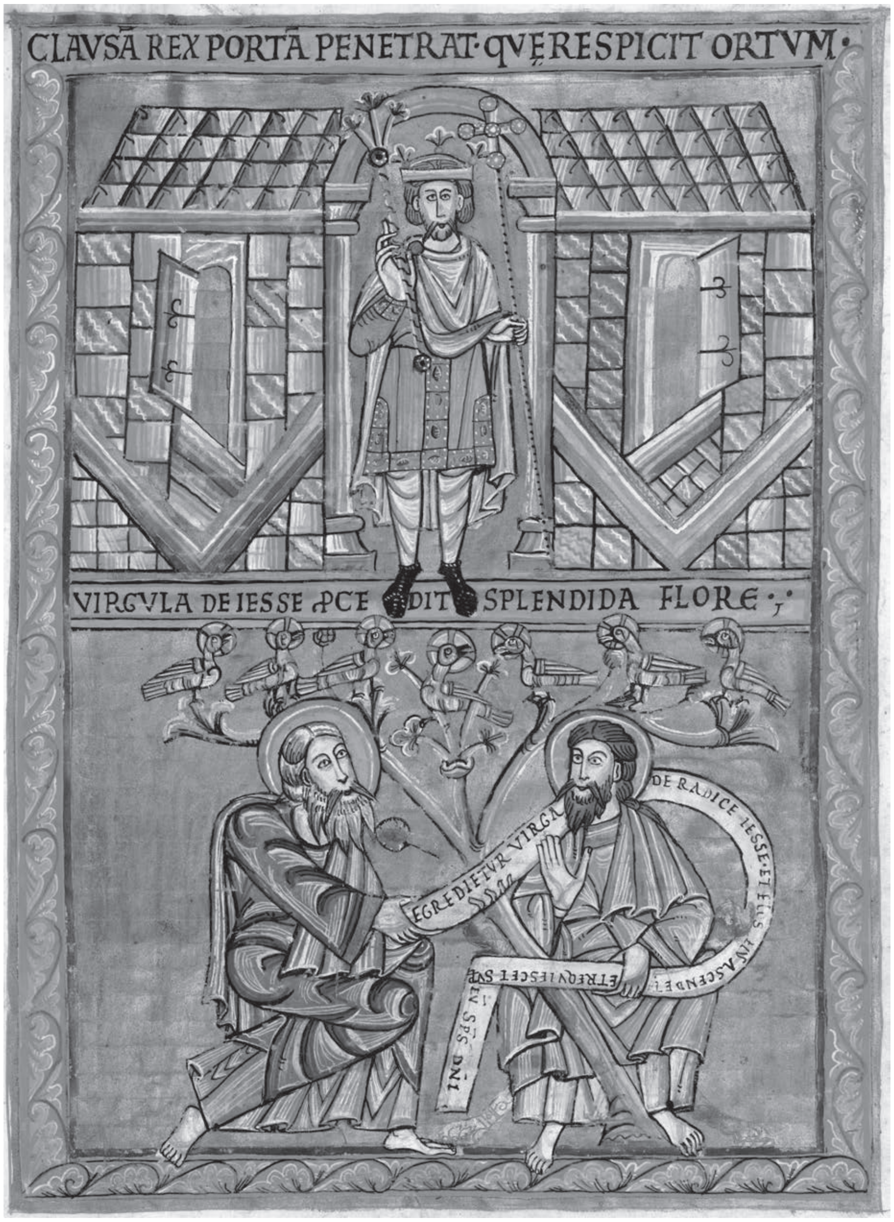
CLAVSA REX PORTA PENETRAT·QVE RESPICIT ORTVM·
VIRGVLA DE IESSE PCEDIT SPLENDIDA FLORE
EGREDIETVR VIRGA DE RADICE IESSE ET FLOS DE RADICE EIVS ASCENDET
ET REQVIESCET SVP EVM SPS DNI

Figure 2.6. '*Porta clausa* and Tree of Jesse', *Vyšehrad Codex*, Prague, National Library of the Czech Republic, MS XIV A 13, fol. 4^v. 1086. Photo courtesy of the National Library of the Czech Republic.

celebration of the liturgy and devotional literature. The image of the Tree of Jesse appears to have been endowed with complex connotations from the very beginning.

The 'flos' crowning the rod of Jesse was identified with Christ. In stained glass this was often represented very literally, as for instance in the Auxerre window, where an exuberant blossom can be seen climbing behind and over the seated figure of Christ, surrounded by the doves representing the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, however, genealogy and lineage were not necessarily represented using a diagram in the shape of a realistic growing tree.[26] In the Tree of Jesse windows, however, the presence of Mary and of several kings, who can be identified as Christ's ancestors, contribute to reinforcing this interpretation. The prophetic text itself, with its images of sprouting vegetation, focuses on generation — a feature which was not lost on artists, who often showed the trunk of the tree emerging from Jesse's loins, thus placing even stronger emphasis on the ideas of lineage and biological fatherhood, even though many generations are skipped between each of the figures.[27]

It is also worth noting that the Tree of Jesse was not necessarily the only visual strategy chosen to represent

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[26] Guerreau-Jalabert, 'L'Arbre de Jessé et l'ordre chrétien de la parenté', pp. 148–53.

[27] Guerreau-Jalabert, 'L'Arbre de Jessé et l'ordre chrétien de la parenté', p. 145.

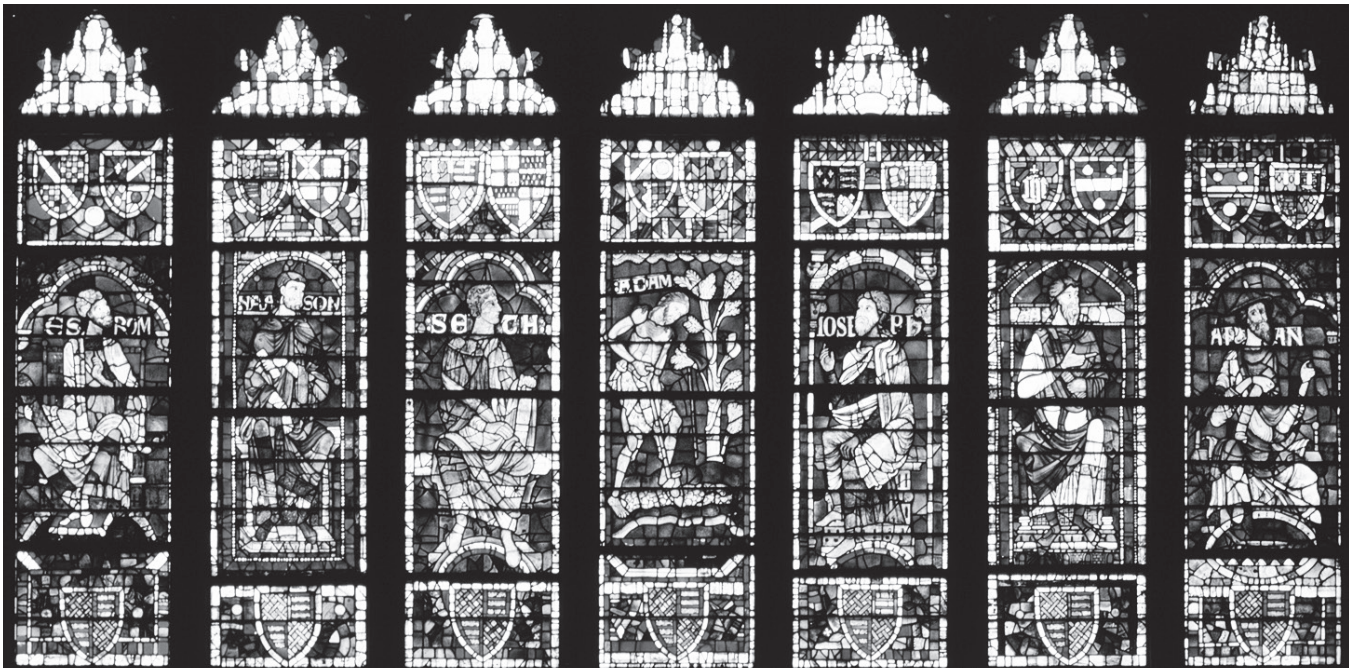

Figure 2.7. 'Ancestors of Christ', Canterbury, Christ Church Cathedral, Great West Window (nave W, detail), originally located in pairs in the choir clerestory. *c.* 1200. © Crown copyright. EH.

Christ's genealogy, and very often different iconographic renderings occur within one site. At Christ Church, Canterbury, for instance, the windows of the clerestory in the choir and Trinity Chapel were entirely dedicated to the depiction of Christ's ancestors (Figure 2.7). This series spanned forty-four windows and included two figures in each window, thus presenting a total of eighty-eight figures (probably including the Creator in the first window and Christ in the last, but these windows are lost). It was based primarily on Luke's list of ancestors (Luke 3. 23–38) which lists seventy-seven generations and goes back to Adam, but also included some figures from Matthew's recension to help fill all the windows, and it was probably one of the most complete genealogies of Christ in medieval art.[28] Each figure was carefully labelled with an inscription bearing his name, although the distance between the clerestory and the floor of the church made any clear identification quite difficult. Thanks to the combined use of both gospel texts as a reference, very few generations were skipped.[29] Sculpture could also be used to represent Christ's genealogy, as is the case at Chartres, where another, much more detailed and complete, Tree of Jesse appears in the arches of the north portal of the cathedral above the statues of prophets and patriarchs. The discrete structure of the Tree of Jesse, as well as the frequent use of other means to provide an accurate and detailed list of the ancestors of Christ in the churches under consideration here, suggests that the primary meaning of the Tree of Jesse may not have been genealogical, since conveying an image of Christ's lineage could have been fulfilled by other, more comprehensive, representations.

Beyond the literal illustration of the genealogy of Christ, however, it has sometimes been pointed out that the Tree of Jesse motif was used to celebrate and exalt temporal rulers. With its strong emphasis on regal figures, the Tree of Jesse can indeed be understood as a glorification of earthly kings, the hereditary principle on which their authority rests, and their identification with

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[28] In the late eighteenth century, most of the ancestors were removed from the clerestory windows and rearranged in the south-west transept window (S. XXVIII) and in the west window in the nave. Madeline Caviness proposes a reconstruction of the original programme; Caviness, *The Windows of Christ Church Cathedral Canterbury*, pp. 8–10. On diagrammatic representations of the genealogy of Christ that list the seventy-seven ancestors, see the articles in this volume by Andrea Worm, '*Arbor humanum genus significat*: Trees of Genealogy and Sacred History in the Twelfth Century', esp. pp. 40-43; and Susanne Wittekind, 'Visualizing Salvation: The Role of Arboreal Imagery in the *Speculum humanae salvationis* (Kremsmünster, Library of the Convent, Cod. 243)'.

[29] Some generations were left out. On these omissions and their significance, see Gelin, *'Lumen ad reuelationem gentis'*, pp. 220–32.

Christ through the coronation ceremony. In France, many of the Tree of Jesse windows which were glazed in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries appear in cathedral churches located within the area of authority of the French kings, and the patrons and designers of the windows may well have wished to celebrate royal authority.[30] In fact, there is a strong affinity between the Tree of Jesse windows analysed here and royal power.

That Suger at Saint-Denis should have wished to emphasize the close links which existed between his abbey and French royal power is hardly surprising, given Suger's role as advisor to two kings — namely Louis VI (1108–37) and Louis VII (1137–80) — his position as regent of the kingdom during the period of 1147 to 1149, when King Louis VII was away on Crusade, and the abbey church's function as custodian of the relics and resting place of the French monarchy.[31] A similar association with royal power can be seen in the Soissons Tree of Jesse window, which seems to have been a gift from King Philip Auguste some time before 1223.[32] Colette Manhès-Deremble, in her analysis of the windows of Notre-Dame of Chartres, emphasized the political content of the Tree of Jesse stressing the close links between the members of the cathedral chapter, the counts of Chartres, and the French king.[33]

By contrast, slightly different overtones can be detected in the Canterbury Tree of Jesse window. Although some details of the representation itself seem to give it a similar meaning to its French counterparts, it is worth considering in the context of the iconographic programme as a whole. Madeline Caviness pointed out that the figure of King Josiah (Figure 2.3) from the Canterbury Jesse Tree was seemingly modelled on the Great Seal of King Richard I from 1198, without, however, offering an explanation.[34] Similarly, Colette Manhès-Deremble mentioned that the thrones on which the figures are seated seem to be located in front of orbs, a detail which according to her 'overemphasizes the idea of royal power'.[35] Moreover, the figures are contained within the branches of the tree, which close around them in a shape which recalls the mandorla of the representation of Christ in majesty. All these features can be interpreted as favourable, if not positively enthusiastic, references to kings and royal power. This is hardly surprising, as it is the royal genealogy after Luke which is at the basis of the Tree of Jesse iconography.

However, the fact that the window was part of a wider iconographic cycle, which placed royal authority firmly under the control of the Church and its members, casts doubts on this interpretation. The vast genealogical cycle of the clerestory windows places strong emphasis on the figures of patriarchs and prophets among Christ's ancestors, at the expense of the kings. In addition to this only a few kings, David, Ezekias, and Josiah, are shown wearing a crown, a feature which distinguishes them as 'good kings' who followed God's law. By contrast, the kings who disobeyed and were punished by God (Roboam, Abia, and Jechonias) are represented without any attributes of royal status. Although the Canterbury Tree of Jesse window is far from complete, the fact that the one surviving king should be clearly labelled as Josiah leads me to think that the other kings present in the windows — there would have been space for at least four more — probably included the other two 'good kings', David and Ezekias.[36] An explanation for the different political message conveyed by the Canterbury window could well be the conflicting relationship between the monastic community of Christ Church and the English Church on the one hand and on the other the English Crown at the end of the twelfth and beginning of the thirteenth centuries. The programme was conceived and created only a few decades after the murder of Archbishop Thomas Becket in 1170 and his canonization in 1173, and during the conflict between King John (1199–1216) and Archbishop Stephen Langton (1207–28).

The figures of kings in the Tree of Jesse underline the kingly nature of Christ and his descent from a royal line, rather than extolling the Christlike nature of temporal rulers. In the twelfth century, the dual function of Christ — both priest and king — received increasing attention from theologians, who used it to justify the superiority

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[30] In his analysis of the Jesse Tree windows at Saint-Denis and Chartres, James R. Johnson emphasizes the links between these two windows and the French monarchs, noting in particular how the branches of the tree can be said to resemble the *fleur-de-lys* chosen as the Capetian regal symbol. His argument fails, however, to explain why the motif was so popular in other churches: Johnson, 'The Tree of Jesse Window of Chartres'.

[31] All these aspects are analysed in Lindy M. Grant's biographical study of Suger: Grant, *Abbot Suger of Saint-Denis*.

[32] Grodecki and others, *Les Vitraux de Paris*, p. 171; Grodecki and Brisac, *Gothic Stained Glass*, p. 40 and fig. 26.

[33] Manhès-Deremble, *Les Vitraux narratifs*, p. 240.

[34] Caviness, *The Windows of Christ Church Cathedral Canterbury*, p. 163.

[35] 'Surdétermine l'idée de pouvoir royal': Manhès-Deremble, *Les Vitraux narratifs*, p. 242.

[36] Caviness, *The Windows of Christ Church Cathedral Canterbury*, p. 173.

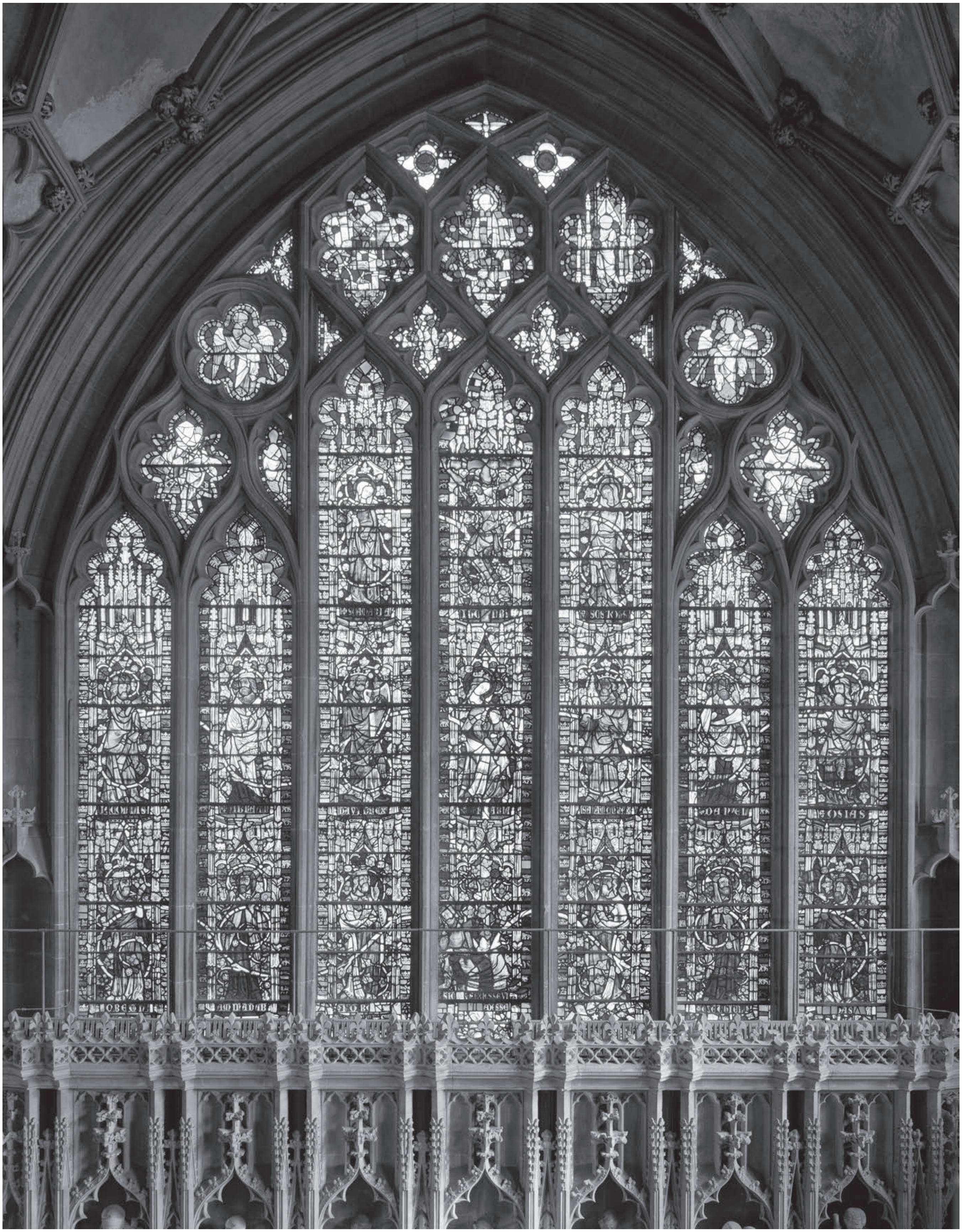

Figure 2.8. ‘Tree of Jesse’, Wells Cathedral, window EI. *c*. 1340. © Crown copyright. EH.

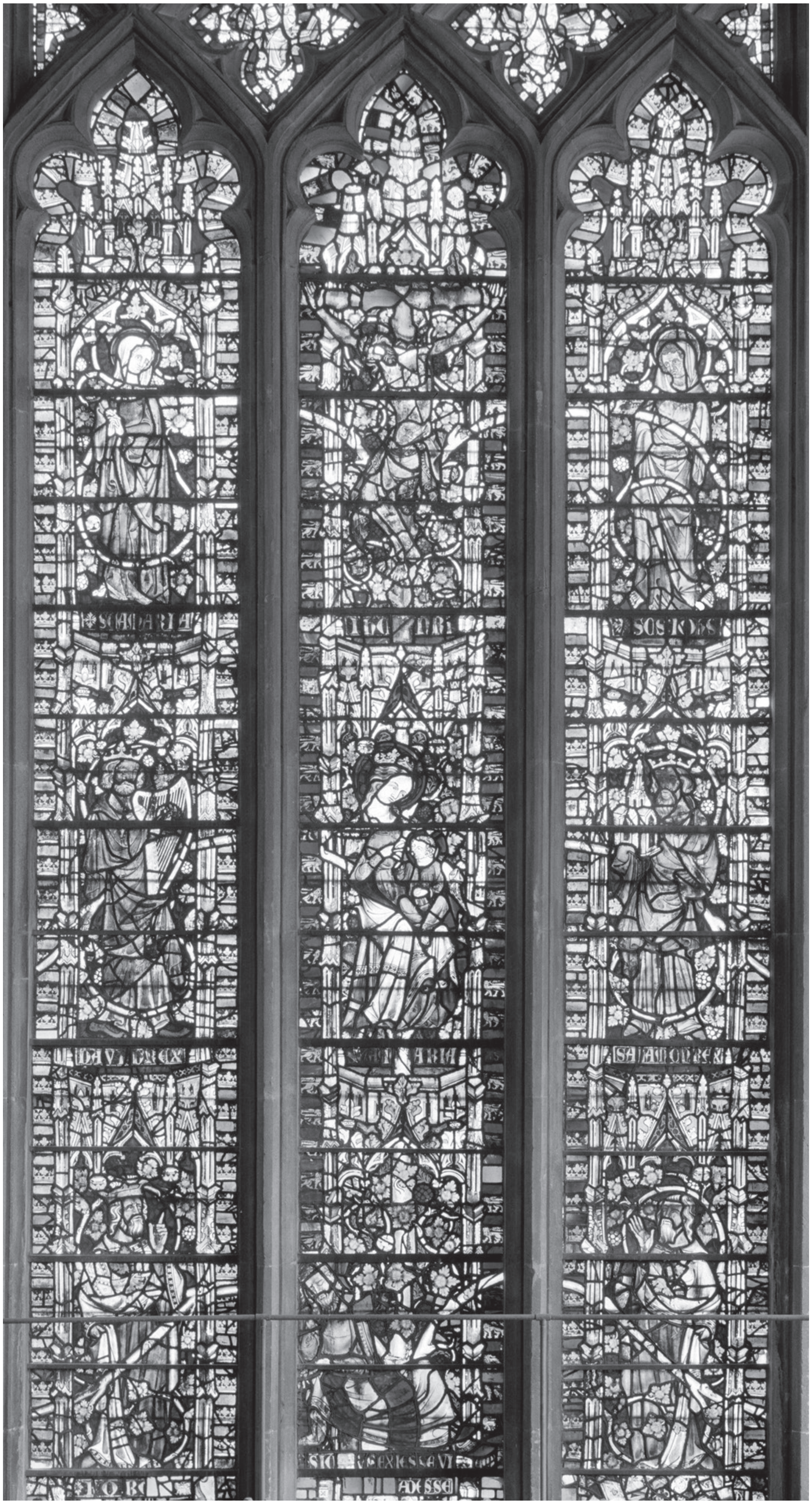

Figure 2.9. 'Jesse asleep, the Virgin and Child, and the Crucifixion, surrounded by two prophets, two kings, and two saints in detail of the Tree of Jesse', Wells Cathedral, window EI (detail). *c*. 1340. © Crown copyright. EH.

of spiritual authority over temporal power.[37] This dual aspect of Christ as priest and king was illustrated in a panel in one of the typological windows surrounding the choir of Christ Church, Canterbury. Although the panel itself has not survived, the verse inscription shows that it was used as a type to illustrate the parable of the Feeding of the Five Thousand.[38] With its strong eucharistic overtones, it was a representation which conveyed in a powerful way the superiority of Christ over temporal rulers and which complemented the other depictions of kings and royal power in the cathedral.

The glorification of kings and of royal power was further limited by the presence of pairs of prophets framing each royal figure in many of the windows (Figures 2.2, 2.10). These prophets were occasionally identified by the verses inscribed on the scrolls they hold. In this case the verses referred to the king they stood next to.[39] Not usually placed within the branches of the tree, they were therefore excluded from the line extending from Jesse to Christ, but their position as onlookers pointed to the meaning they represented for the patrons, artists, and viewers of the windows. Thus firmly framed by two prophets having foretold his reign, each king was shown to owe his royal position to the will of God.

The presence of prophets surrounding the tree and introducing the royal figures served to emphasize the links between the Bible and the Gospels, prophecy and realization, and types and antitypes. The kings themselves were prefigurations for the figure of Christ crowning the Tree. The uninterrupted ascending linear organization of the Tree conveyed the clear message that there was an organized plan and that history was continuing its course towards a preordained end. Although the figure of Christ sitting at the top of the tree was not strictly speaking a figure of the Last Judgement, iconographic similarities tend to draw the interpretation in that direction, in particular the form of the branches, which is often reminiscent of a mandorla, for instance in the Tree of Jesse window in Troyes, executed *c.* 1220 (Figure 2.4).[40] Christ was shown seated, holding a book in his left hand and extending his right hand upwards in a representation which echoed Christ presiding over many Judgement scenes in church tympana. The Tree of Jesse sculpted on the central pillar of the Porticó de la Gloria, the western portal of the church of Santiago di Compostella, sculpted around 1188, was located immediately below the representation of the Last Judgement in the tympanum. Thus, the connection between the incarnation of the logos in the beginning and Christ's Second Coming at the end of time was emphasized.[41] In the fourteenth century, the patrons and glaziers of Wells Cathedral added a Last Judgement in the tracery surmounting the Tree of Jesse window in the eastern clerestory of the church (Figures 2.8, 2.9).

At Christ Church, this eschatological reading of the motif was echoed in the association of the window not only with a Redemption window in the Corona, but also with the other axial window, this time at the level of the clerestory, which most probably depicted a Last Judgement.[42] Reading the window from bottom to top prompted the viewer to raise his or her eyes heavenwards to Christ. This upward movement can be interpreted as a summary of the entire history of salvation and the divine plan for mankind.

The Tree of Jesse and the Cult of the Virgin Mary

In virtually every representation of the Tree of Jesse from the twelfth century onwards, the Virgin Mary forms part of the series of Christ's ancestors in the central stem, thus insisting on the role of the Virgin Mary in Christ's lineage and on her pre-eminent function in the history of salvation. It is interesting to see that in the first known depictions, however, Mary does not play a role (Figure 2.6). It seems to have been Bernard of Clairvaux who popularized the identification of the *virga* in Isaiah's prophecy with the *Virgo* of the Gospel.[43] It is therefore no coincidence that the tremendous success of the Tree of Jesse in western medieval art coincided with the development of the liturgical and devotional cult of the Virgin Mary in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.[44]

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[37] Descended from both Abraham and David, as recalled by Matthew's genealogy, Christ was often described as wielding the swords of both spiritual and temporal authority, thus placing him — and therefore the bishops, his delegates on earth — above temporal rulers. The elaborate biblical exegesis around this concept has been analysed by Buc, *L'Ambiguïté du livre*, chap. 2.

[38] Christ Church, Canterbury, window n. XI, panel 6. 'Hii panes legem pisces dantem sacra regem/Signant quassatos a plebe nec adnichilatos' (These loaves signify the king giving the law, the fish, the king giving sacraments, which are broken by the people, but not consumed). Furthermore, in the medieval manuscripts which give a list of the windows, their subjects, and their verse inscriptions, the panel received the title 'Dominus sacerdos et rex'. James, *The Verses Formerly Inscribed*, pp. 15 and 30. Caviness, *The Windows of Christ Church Cathedral Canterbury*, p. 126.

[39] Grodecki, *Les Vitraux de Saint-Denis*, p. 72.

[40] *Les Vitraux de Champagne-Ardenne*, ed. by Comité Français du Corpus Vitrearum; Pastan and Balcon, *Les Vitraux du choeur*.

[41] Williamson, *Gothic Sculpture 1140–1300*, pp. 121–23, fig. 186.

[42] Caviness, *The Windows of Christ Church Cathedral Canterbury*, p. 8.

By the middle of the twelfth century, when the Tree of Jesse motif became popular in stained glass, the cult of the Virgin was one of the major cults of the Western Church. Feasts of the Virgin were gradually added to liturgical calendars under the influence of the development of the cult in Rome from the eighth century onwards.[45] The most important Marian feast days of the Church year were those of the Annunciation (25 March), the Assumption (15 August) and the Nativity (8 September). Other events of the life of Mary could also be commemorated: the Purification (2 February, which also commemorated the Presentation of Jesus at the Temple and was therefore not only a mariological feast), the Oblation (that is to say the Presentation of Mary at the Temple, 21 November), and the Conception of the Virgin (8 December). The last two were relatively minor feasts which did not usually receive a great amount of attention and were not observed everywhere.[46] As Margot Fassler pointed out, the interest in the Virgin Mary in the eleventh and twelfth centuries can also be associated with the increasing attention paid to hagiography at that time and the need to provide accurate and more detailed biographies for many saints, as well as appropriate texts and chants for the many ceremonies and celebrations created to honour them.[47] At the same time, the development in the twelfth century of a proper theology of the Virgin, who was equated with both the Bride of the Song of Songs and the Church, further increased that interest, which manifested itself in art, literature, and the liturgy, and raised the status of the Virgin in Christian worship.[48]

It is of great importance that all of the churches under consideration here already had substantial arrangements in place for celebrations relating to the Blessed Virgin Mary by the time the windows representing the Tree of Jesse were put in place. The tradition of celebrating feasts of the Virgin Mary seems to have been slightly more longstanding in England than on the Continent.[49] At Canterbury, the feasts dedicated to the Virgin ranked amongst the most important of its liturgical calendar. The development of the cult of the Virgin in one of the most important churches of England is clearly documented in a number of Canterbury calendars dating from the eleventh and twelfth centuries. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the monastic community of Christ Church celebrated six feasts dedicated to the Virgin.[50] The importance of the feasts of the Virgin Mary at Chartres can hardly be overestimated. Not only was the cathedral dedicated to the Virgin (Notre-Dame), but it housed some of her most venerated relics, in particular the shirt she wore at the birth of Christ. At Chartres, in addition to several feast days dedicated to the mother of Christ, the Office of the Virgin and Masses were celebrated in her name every day. The thirteenth-century Ordinary from the cathedral mentions that in the event of a procession, the antiphon, verse, and prayer sung when returning into the choir were always dedicated to her.[51]

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[43] Watson, *The Early Iconography of the Tree of Jesse*, pp. 1–8; Schiller, *Iconography of Christian Art*, trans. by Seligman, p. 15.

[44] The extraordinary development of the cult of the Virgin Mary in Western Christianity during the Middle Ages has recently been charted by Rubin, *Mother of God*.

[45] Fassler, 'Mary's Nativity', pp. 392–99.

[46] The twelfth- and thirteenth-century liturgical calendars of Christ Church, Canterbury, indicated that they were observed there and gained importance throughout the thirteenth century (Heslop, 'The Canterbury Calendars'; James, *The Canterbury Psalter*; *English Benedictine Kalendars after AD 1100*, ed. by Wormald, I: *Abbotsbury-Durham* (1939)). At Saint-Denis, these feasts are mentioned as later additions to the twelfth-century calendars; see Robertson, *The Service-Books of the Royal Abbey*, Appendix A. The thirteenth-century Ordinary of Chartres does not mention either of these feasts.

[47] Fassler, 'Mary's Nativity', pp. 390, 400. Bibliography on hagiographic renewal in the twelfth century is abundant. The introductory chapter of Ashley and Sheingorn, *Writing Faith*, pp. 1–21, offers a good overview of the subject and its historiography.

[48] Rubin, *Mother of God*, chap. 10.

[49] Clayton, *The Cult of the Virgin Mary*.

[50] Two major feasts, of the highest rank, accompanied by a vigil the day before and the celebration of an octave the following week are the Assumption on 15 August and the Nativity on 8 September. Three other feasts received a lesser degree of solemnity: the Oblation on 21 November, the Purification on 2 February, and in the most recent calendars, the Conception of the Virgin on 8 December. Surprisingly, the feast of the Annunciation on 25 March is not distinguished by any mention of its importance in the calendars from Christ Church, although it is written in capital letters. The liturgical calendars referred to here can be found in the following manuscripts: London, BL, MS Arundel 155 (the Arundel Psalter), fols 2–7^v; early eleventh century, but added to throughout the eleventh and twelfth centuries, *English Kalendars before AD 1100*, ed. by Wormald, pp. 175–187; Oxford, Bodl. Lib., Add. MS C260, middle of the twelfth century, edited and discussed in Heslop, 'The Canterbury Calendars', pp. 53–85; Cambridge, Trinity MS R.17.1 (the Eadwine Psalter), fols 1^v–6^r, middle of the twelfth century, edited in James, *The Canterbury Psalter* and extensively discussed in Pfaff, 'The Calendar'; and London, BL, MS Cotton Tiberius B III, fols 2^r–7^v, early thirteenth century (with additions down to the sixteenth century), edited in *English Benedictine Kalendars after AD 1100*, ed. by Wormald, I, 63, 68–79.

The liturgical chants and prayers created for these feasts, including the aforementioned responsory *Stirps Jesse*, written by Bishop Fulbert of Chartres (1006–28), all highlight the Virgin's central role in the history of salvation. Indeed the responsory was used during some of the most important celebrations dedicated to the mother of Christ, as well as during the season of Advent, which seems to have had a strong mariological inflection. In a striking parallel to the celebrations of the Nativity of Christ, the genealogy of Christ was read again on the feast of the Nativity of the Virgin Mary.[52] The responsory follows Isaiah's prophecy and makes it more explicit by explaining that 'Virga Dei genitrix Virgo est, flos filius eius' (The branch (*virga*) is the Virgin (*Virgo*) the bearer of God, the flower her son), adding the connection with the Virgin Mary through the pun on *virga/Virgo* and emphasizing that she is the agent through which royal descent could take place. The role of the Virgin Mary is made central in the responsory, and this is echoed in the image, where she is invariably represented seated just below her son (Figures 2.1, 2.2, 2.4, 2.9). The liturgical responsory and the Tree of Jesse motif worked in unison to give the Blessed Virgin Mary a central place in the history of salvation. They both insisted on her role as 'Genitrix' of the Saviour and presented her not only as the link between the Old and New Testament, but also as the means through which the prophecy could be fulfilled. In the stained-glass representations, where she was shown to be an integral part of the *virga* issuing from Jesse, the trunk supporting — and giving birth to — its last and most glorious offshoot in the person of Christ, the Virgin literally became the embodiment of Isaiah's prophecy (Figure 2.9). In some manuscript images, this idea was illustrated even more literally: the Virgin was represented as the only figure between Jesse and Christ, her body making up the whole trunk of the tree.[53] In liturgical terms, Isaiah's prophecy, the exegetical commentary provided by the *Stirps Jesse* responsory, and, to a degree, Matthew's genealogy were all strongly associated with the celebrations dedicated to the Virgin Mary. The gradual association of the Virgin with the Advent season and the Christmas celebrations served to strengthen her role in the history of Redemption as Mother of God. Through her the Old Testament prophecies were fulfilled, the period *sub lege* came to an end, and the era *sub gratia* was inaugurated. This increased emphasis on Mary, in conjunction with the development of her theology and the widespread diffusion of her cult, was clearly expressed in the development of the Jesse Tree motif. Although a genealogical dimension was undoubtedly present in the motif of the Tree of Jesse, it would appear that it did not concern Christ so much as his Mother. The exegetical interpretation of Isaiah's prophecy, as well as the liturgical responsory based on it, however, brought the role of the Virgin to the fore — as did the Jesse Trees in stained-glass windows.

Eastern Promises: The Location of the Tree of Jesse Window and the Liturgy

Suger described the *Stirps Jesse* window (Figure 2.1) as having been the 'beginning [of the series]' (*incipit*) of windows he had created for his new church, revealing that he thought of the windows as an organized whole, following a certain order. Moreover, he pointed out that the representation was located 'in capite ecclesiae', that is to say, in the choir ambulatory of the church, for which Suger had created several chapels.[54] This was a highly significant location in terms of liturgy: the 'caput ecclesiae' was the area of the church where the most important rituals took place. The main altar was located there, and the Eucharist was celebrated daily in that space. Furthermore, in a cathedral or abbey church, the whole eastern end of the building would have been reserved for the celebrations of the religious community — secular or monastic — serving the church. The laity would not normally have been allowed in that space, save on special occasions, and it would have been clearly separated from the rest of the church, probably by a stone screen.

The location of Jesse Tree windows inside medieval churches seems to have varied to some extent according to time and place. In the sites being considered here however, an overwhelming number of windows seem to have been located at the eastern end of the church. This was undoubtedly the case at Saint-Denis. Although the east-

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[51] *L'Ordinaire chartrain du XIII^{e} siècle*, ed. by Delaporte, p. 39.

[52] *The Monastic Breviary of Hyde Abbey*, ed. by Tolhurst, IV (1939), fol. 340^{v}.

[53] For instance in the Cîteaux Legendary, Dijon, Bib. Municipale, MS 641, fol. 40^{v} (Watson, *The Early Iconography of the Tree of Jesse*, pl. VI) and in a Bible in London, Lambeth Palace Lib., MS 3, fol. 198^{r} (Watson, *The Early Iconography of the Tree of Jesse*, pl. XV); on the Lambeth Bible, see Shepard, *Introducing the Lambeth Bible*.

[54] Grodecki, *Les Vitraux de Saint-Denis*, p. 65.

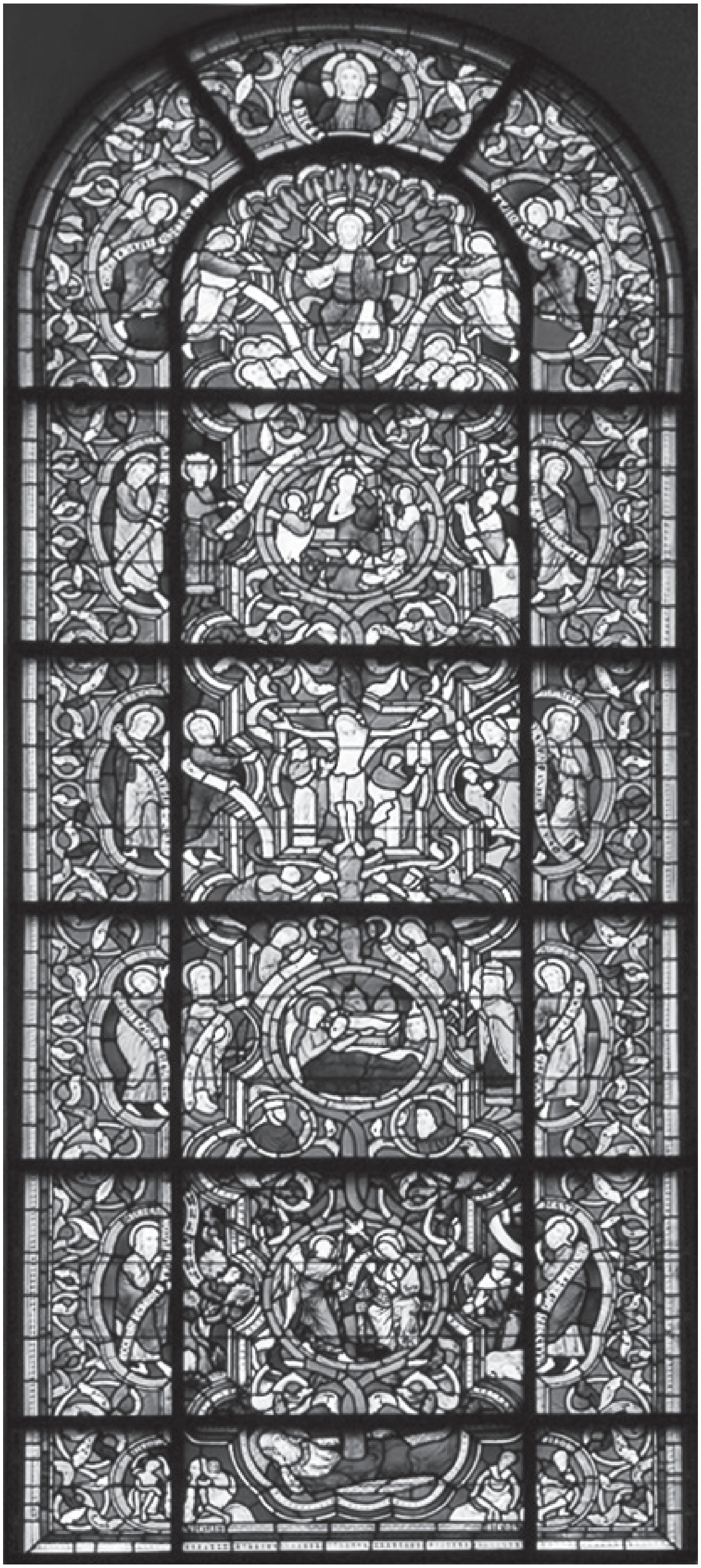

Figure 2.10. 'Tree of Jesse', Cologne, Church of St Kunibert, apse window, clerestory. *c.* 1220–30. Photograph courtesy of Hans Peter Schaefer, Cologne.

ern end of the basilica was extensively redesigned in the fourteenth century, and many of the windows were subsequently either entirely lost or significantly altered, the current location of the window in the northern bay of the axial chapel is confirmed by the sources — such as Suger's description of its location 'in capite ecclesiae'. At Canterbury (Figure 2.3), the Tree of Jesse window was almost certainly located in the part of the church known as the Corona, a small round chapel at the eastern end of the Trinity Chapel. Although the exact window it was placed in is not known, the current position of the nineteenth-century reconstruction on the north side of the Redemption window seems quite plausible.[55] This easternmost location is also where the Tree of Jesse window can be found in the cathedrals of Auxerre and Beauvais. In Le Mans Cathedral, the window was part of the iconographic programme of the Lady Chapel, at the eastern end of the church, but was not the axial window.[56] On rare occasions, the Jesse Tree window even seems to have been in the axial position, as was most probably the case at Troyes as well as at Soissons, where it was located in the clerestory;[57] this is also the case in St Kunibert in Cologne (Figure 2.10).

The notable exception is the Jesse Tree window in Chartres (Figure 2.2), which is located at the opposite end of the cathedral, in the wall above the west portals. In light of the locations of the window in other cathedrals this might appear unusual, but it seems that the motif could also be associated with western ends, and in particular with portals, albeit in sculpture rather than in glass. This was the case for instance, at the church of Santiago di Compostella, where the central pillar of the central portal was sculpted with a magnificently lush Tree of Jesse. At Chartres, another Tree of Jesse representation could be seen over one of the north portals of the cathedral, which was, however, only completed around 1210.[58] The location of the motif therefore was not limited to the eastern end of churches, although it does seem that this position was often favoured for windows. The sites at which representations of the Tree of Jesse can be found in medieval churches seem to have been highly significant, not only for the understanding of the motif itself and its meanings, but also for the articulation and organization of the internal space of the building. As discussed above, the image was closely associated through its textual sources with some of the most important celebrations of the Christian calendar, Christmas and the feasts of the Virgin.

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[55] Caviness, 'The Canterbury Jesse Tree Window', p. 374. The Canterbury Jesse Tree was almost completely re-created in the nineteenth century, and only two original panels survive (the figures of the Virgin and King Josiah). The design which can be seen today was based on the Chartres example, and though there is no evidence that the Canterbury Jesse window originally included prophets, the reconstruction seems probable enough.

[56] Inventaire général des monuments et richesses artistiques de la France, *Les vitraux du Centre et des Pays de la Loire*.

[57] Pastan and Balcon, *Les Vitraux du choeur*, pp. 102–09.

Though most of these windows were located at the eastern end of the churches in which they appeared, they rarely occupied the easternmost axial window, the cathedrals of Troyes and Soissons being exceptional in this regard. Rather, the Tree of Jesse seems to have been located next to the axial window — which often contained scenes from the Life of Christ or the Life of the Virgin — usually on its northern side. Madeline Caviness pointed out that this was in keeping with the practice of having Old Testament events and stories depicted on the darker northern side of the church whereas the New Testament figures and narratives were located on the south side, that is to say, the side which tends to receive more light, symbolizing revelation and salvation.[59] The position of the Jesse Tree window on the north side of the church therefore indicates that it was understood as being part of the Old Testament narratives, but its location at, or close to, the eastern end emphasizes its function of typologically linking Old Testament stories to New Testament subjects and forming a clear point of transition from the period *sub lege* to the period *sub gratia*. Indeed, its structure seamlessly linked an Old Testament prophecy to its realization in Christ and his mother, and the motif was ideally suited to representing not only the succession of the New Testament coming after the Old Testament, but also the fulfilment of biblical prophecies in the Gospel narratives. This recalls the way the Jesse Tree motif was often used as an illustration at the opening of Matthew's text in Gospel books. There, as in the stained-glass windows, the image acted as a reminder of the continuity between the Old and New Testaments, the latter fulfilling the former.

Some of the meaning associated with the Tree of Jesse window can be recovered from the content of the windows located on either side of it. In the examples studied here, it seems that these were of two types: they presented events either from the life of Christ or from the life of the Virgin. This is hardly surprising given the theological interpretations of the motif and the liturgical sources it was based on. At Saint-Denis and at Chartres, the Tree of Jesse was situated next to a window depicting the Infancy of Christ. In this instance, the emphasis was placed on the Incarnation, and the genealogical connotations of the Tree of Jesse image were brought to the fore in this context. These connotations were very strong at Saint-Denis, where on Christmas Day, the procession entering the church from the cloister would sing the antiphon *O Beata infancia* followed by the responsory *Stirps Jesse* on the way to the Chapel of the Virgin, where both the window of the Infancy of Christ and the window of the Tree of Jesse were located.[60] In other churches, such as Canterbury or Soissons, the window was more closely associated with representations of the Passion of Christ and of the Last Judgement, shifting the focus away from the Incarnation towards the Redemption of mankind through the sacrifice of Christ, its saviour. Here, an eschatological interpretation of the Tree of Jesse predominated.[61] The emphasis of the Virgin's role in the history of salvation — already manifest in the links between the image, the liturgical responsory, and the cult of the Virgin Mary — was even stronger in cases where the Tree of Jesse window was associated with a mariological cycle, as was the case at Le Mans where the window was located in the Lady Chapel or at Auxerre where it was located next to a window of the life and miracles of the Virgin. The motif could in this respect be seen to function as a sort of turning point, a hinge, around which the rest of the iconographic programme was articulated. Just as the fulfilment of the Old Testament prophecies rested on the figure of the Virgin, the Tree of Jesse gave form and meaning to the succession of the two testaments and legitimized both the Old Testament stories, by pointing out that they were prophecies and prefigurations of the story of Jesus, and the New Testament narratives, by grounding them in biblical history.

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[58] Williamson, *Gothic Sculpture 1140–1300*, p. 37, figs 54 and 56.

[59] Caviness, *The Early Stained Glass*, p. 104.

[60] Robertson, *The Service-Books of the Royal Abbey*, p. 252.

[61] A close parallel to this interpretation can be found in sculpture, for instance on the aforementioned Porticó de la Gloria on the western front of Santiago di Compostella; see Williamson, *Gothic Sculpture 1140–1300*, pp. 121–23, fig. 186.

Usually located in a part of the church which was used daily for liturgical celebrations — the choir and (in England) the Lady Chapel — the Tree of Jesse window would have played a significant role clarifying the organization of the iconographic programmes surrounding it, as well as providing a typological commentary on the seamless, organic connections between the two epochs of sacred history, between north and south, darkness and light. There is evidence that, on occasion, the window may have been involved in the liturgical celebrations themselves. The practice of 'directing' a procession towards a chapel or altar probably did not originate in the twelfth century, but it did gain importance at that time. Indeed, it seems that one of the reasons behind Suger's innovative addition of chapels around the ambulatory may have been to facilitate the daily round of processions. An early seventeenth-century history of the monastic church of Saint-Denis mentions a liturgical procession during the morning Mass, which stopped outside the chapel dedicated to the Virgin, which contained the Tree of Jesse window, on its way back from the cloister into the choir:

> La procession entre du cloître à l'église et monte dans le chevet; ils font une station devant la chapelle de Nostre-Dame et le Respons *Stirps Jesse* finy, aussi le verset *Post justum* chanté par deux novices, le vénérable abbé dit l'oraison *Concede nos famulos*.
>
> [The procession enters the church from the cloister and goes up to the ambulatory; they stop outside the chapel of Our Lady and after the responsory *Stirps Jesse* has been sung as well as the versicle *Post justum* sung by two novices, the venerable abbot says the orison *Concede nos famulos*.][62]

In this case, it seems that the window may have functioned as a visual cue for the recitation of the responsory, and also maybe as a prop for the meditation of the monks during the singing of the responsory which concluded the procession. It is possible that here — as at Chartres — the chants sung while the procession was on its way back into the choir would have been dedicated to the Mother of God, which might explain why the procession stopped outside the Chapel of the Virgin.

The Jesse Tree: A Synopsis of Salvation History

The distinguishing feature of the Tree of Jesse window seems to be that, although it was arguably an essentially theological exposition, it nonetheless presented its material in narrative form. The motif of the tree linking the figures allowed the viewer to understand the succession of the figures represented as a linear, chronological process, even though many generations were omitted in the window representations. This presented the viewer with a striking summary of the story told by the Bible and by the Gospel, almost a bullet-point synopsis of the most salient episodes of the two testaments and of the main ideas it was essential to remember: that the coming of Christ had been foretold by prophets, that Old Testament figures (such as David) prefigured and announced him, that he was born of a woman of royal descent, and that Christ was going to reign, assisted by the Holy Spirit. Thrown in were various symbolic associations which completed the message: the tree on which Christ stood — sometimes with his arms spread wide to hold the branches, in an echo of Crucifixion scenes — evoked the Cross, as well as the Tree of Life, and the curling vines enclosing the figures, which were sometimes adorned with grapes, all pointed towards a reading of the motif associating it not only with the Redemption, but more specifically with the sacrifice of Christ and its commemoration in the Eucharist.[63] The Canterbury programme, which strongly emphasized eucharistic themes, placed the Tree of Jesse in close proximity to the Redemption window, which displayed the episode of the Grape of Eschol (Numbers 13. 23) in one of its panels, traditionally used as one of the typological prefigurations of the sacrifice of Christ.[64] The location of the Jesse Tree window at the eastern end of the church, so close to the high altar, where the Eucharist was daily celebrated, therefore seems highly significant.

Intrinsically linked, through its textual sources and its iconographic expression, to the most important liturgical celebrations of the Christian church, the Tree of Jesse window played a crucial role in the exposition of sacred history thanks to its location inside churches and its association with Incarnation and Redemption themes. At the junction between the Old and the New Testament, it offered a teleological overview of the divine plan for mankind. The complex exegetical interpretations of

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[62] Doublet, *Histoire de l'abbaye de St Denys*, p. 359.

[63] Alibert, 'Aux origines du pressoir mystique'.

[64] Christ Church, Canterbury, Corona Chapel, window 1, panel 5. Gelin, *'Lumen ad reuelationem gentis'*, pp. 195–202.

Isaiah's text and its liturgical associations with the cult of the Virgin Mary could all be found expressed in the elegant and clear layout of the Jesse window. The group of French and English windows analysed here included regal figures, which added a strong genealogical dimension to the reading of the motif. This may have detracted from the central message of the representation, or maybe diluted it, at least for modern viewers. Medieval patrons and glaziers on occasion chose to focus on the theological concepts at the heart of the Tree of Jesse. Some manuscript illuminations, as mentioned above, included only the figure of the Virgin Mary between Jesse and Christ, thus emphasizing the concept of Incarnation in the representation (Figure 6.4). Taking this idea even further, some windows replace the regal figures by scenes taken from the infancy and the life of Christ, as was the case, for instance, in the Jesse window created for the church of St Kunibert in Cologne in the second quarter of the thirteenth century (Figure 2.10), conflating in one single design representations which were found side by side in separate windows at Saint-Denis and at Chartres.[65] Such images reinforced the role of the Virgin and offered a summary of the history of salvation, which was all the more striking for being so remarkably condensed and rich.[66] The fourteenth-century Jesse Tree in the clerestory of the eastern end of Wells Cathedral follows a similar pattern, which further associated it with a representation of the Last Judgement in the tracery above the main lights (Figure 2.8).[67] All the complex meanings of the motif were thus compressed in one single representation offering a remarkable summary of the history of salvation.

Conclusion

Charged with many meanings and associations, the Tree of Jesse was undoubtedly one of the most successful iconographic motifs of the Middle Ages. Although the Saint-Denis Jesse Tree window was arguably the first of its kind, the motif already had a long-established theology behind it in the twelfth century and had proved immensely popular. It was selected to appear in stained-glass programmes all over medieval Europe, not only in the great cathedrals but also in parish churches down to the sixteenth century. In that period of time, it was changed and modified, and grew tremendously in scale, as can be seen in the fourteenth-century Jesse Tree window located in the clerestory of Wells Cathedral.

This development might be ascribed in part to the way the shape of the window itself was affected by architectural and aesthetic developments. From the fourteenth century onwards, the taste for single lancets was surpassed by window openings containing several lights, often separated by thin stone mullions which did not necessarily act as barriers to the spread of a motif over several lights, a development encouraged by the greater technical expertise of builders and architects. Patrons and glaziers allowed the branches of the Tree to grow and spread over several lights, forming a dense thicket of branches, shoots, and blossoms in which many figures could nestle beyond Jesse, the Virgin, and Christ. In these later windows, the Tree achieved a greater resemblance to the genealogical trees, which were then becoming more common — and which have certainly influenced the prevalent modern interpretation of the Tree of Jesse as a genealogical image.

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[65] Grodecki, *Les Vitraux de Saint-Denis*, pp. 222–28, figs 194 and 195.

[66] A remarkable example for the Tree of Jesse as a matrix for the history of salvation are the reliefs of Orvieto Cathedral in the early fourteenth century; see the article in this volume by Salonius, '*Arbor Jesse – Lignum vitae*', Figures 10.1 and 10.4.

[67] Ayers, *The Medieval Stained Glass*, part 1, pp. 287–317.

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Arbor autem humanum genus significat: Trees of Genealogy and Sacred History in the Twelfth Century

Andrea Worm*

> The tree, however, signifies mankind, as it is the fig-tree that someone planted in the vineyard. Also, the good tree is said to be the good man and the bad tree, the bad man. Some interpret this tree in the testimony as the will of man more than man himself receiving it, and [thus identify] the good fruit with the good works, and the bad one with the bad works.[1]

The Carolingian theologian Hrabanus Maurus (d. 856) used the tree and its fruit as a moral metaphor for mankind in his great encyclopaedic work *De natura rerum*, referring to the parable of the fig-tree (Matthew 7. 16). It is noteworthy that the cited paragraph appears in the introduction to the extensive chapter on trees, 'De arboribus', where the names and qualities of each species are discussed, because it reveals the synthesis of scientific description and moralizing allegory frequently found in medieval works.

The tree, growing from a root into a trunk, then into branches, twigs, leaves, flowering and bearing fruit, may not only stand in as an allegory for the individual human being, but also suggests itself as a metaphor for family relationships, and this image has been used in various ways and appearances up to the modern family trees of today.[2] Moreover, the succession of generations represented in arboreal form provides a persuasive pictorial formula for the visual conception of the passing of time.

These aspects of arboreal imagery — their role in the visualization of genealogy, sacred history, and thus, time itself — will be the focus of this article. The examples that will be considered date from the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, a period that saw an unparalleled systematization of knowledge and is characterized by an increase of visual concepts to represent complex information.[3] At the same time the growing preoccupation with the 'sensus literalis', the literal or historical sense of Scripture,[4] gave rise to an interest in biblical history that

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* I wish to thank Dr Marigold Anne Norbye and Dr Michael Staunton for their helpful suggestions. Also, I am grateful to Jean-Baptiste Piggin for his comments on this article. His website has become an important tool for the study of stemmatic diagrams: Piggin, *Notes on the History of the Stemma*.

[1] 'Arbor autem humanum genus significat, ut est illud arborem fici, quidam habuit plantatam in uinea. Item arbor bona dicitur, bonus homo, et mala arbor malus homo. Quidam in hoc testimonio arborem uoluntatem hominis magis quam ipsum hominem accipiendum putant et fructum bonum bona opera. Malum uero mala opera': Hrabanus Maurus, *De universo sive de natura rerum*. Translations from the Latin are mine except where otherwise noted.

[2] Ladner, 'Terms and Ideas of Renewal in the Twelfth Century', pp. 716–19; Ladner, 'Vegetation Symbolism and the Concept of Renaissance'; Klapisch-Zuber, 'The Genesis of the Family Tree'; Klapisch-Zuber, *L'Ombre des ancêtres*.

[3] Esmeijer, *Divina Quaternitas*; Evans, 'The Geometry of the Mind'; Wirth, 'Von mittelalterlichen Bildern und Lehrfiguren'; Caviness, 'Images of Divine Order'; Meier, 'Malerei des Unsichtbaren'; Rivers, 'Memory, Division, and the Organization'; Bogen and Thürlemann, 'Jenseits der Opposition von Text und Bild'; Hamburger, '"*Haec figura demonstrat*"'. On diagrammatic representations of history, see specifically Melville, 'Geschichte in graphischer Gestalt'; Klapisch-Zuber, *L'Ombre des ancêtres*; Worm, 'Diagrammatic Chronicles'; Worm, 'Layout'; Grafton and Rosenberg, *Cartographies of Time*, and the article in this volume by Marigold Anne Norbye, '*Arbor genealogiae*: Manifestations of the Tree in French Royal Genealogies'.

[4] In the study of Scripture and its Four Senses — historical,

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The Tree: Symbol, Allegory, and Mnemonic Device in Medieval Art and Thought, ed. by Pippa Salonius and Andrea Worm, IMR 20 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014)
pp. 35–67
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manifested itself in these diagrams in various ways. The use of arboreal schemata is revealing not only for strategies to structure knowledge in the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, but also for the medieval understanding of history as an ordered and teleological entity.

'Bible Manuscripts as History Books':[5] *The Bibles of Parc, Floreffe, and Foigny*

The Bibles of Parc, Floreffe, and Foigny are well known as outstanding works of Romanesque illumination. They also share an unusual feature: all three manuscripts contain Trees of Consanguinity (*arbores consanguinitatis*), followed by extensive stemmata of the genealogy of Christ, which provide an overview of biblical history from Adam to Christ.

In many respects, the large format, multivolume Bibles of Parc, Floreffe, and Foigny are typical products of the Romanesque period. As one of the results of the great Church reform that started in the second half of the eleventh century, many monastic houses were reformed and new orders emerged such as the Cistercians and the Premonstratensians. Reformers gave great attention to the study of Scripture, and thus the demand for Bible manuscripts surpassed that of the tenth and eleventh centuries.[6] The Bibles of Parc, Floreffe, and Foigny were all made for newly established foundations of the Premonstratensians and Cistercians respectively, and they were certainly the most ambitious undertakings of these religious houses in terms of the production of high-quality manuscripts. The following brief introduction to the three Bible manuscripts will ascertain the position of the trees and the stemmata in each of these codices, but also provide the basis for a discussion of the historical connection between the monastic communities for which they were intended.

The three-volume Parc Bible was made in and for the Premonstratensian abbey Sainte Marie de Parc near Leuven in modern Belgium in 1148.[7] Two almost identically worded colophons naming that date appear in the first volume on fol. 197^r, and in the second volume on fol. 198^r. The Parc Bible's sumptuous decoration encompasses one full-page initial, which introduces the Book of Genesis (vol. I, fol. 6^v)[8] as well as a great number of historiated and ornamental initials. The Tree of Consanguinity (vol. I, fol. 198^r) (Figure 3.1) is followed by eighteen folios with genealogical tables (vol. I, fols 198^v–207^r) (Figure 3.2), culminating in an image of the Virgin and Christ Child. This whole section takes up one quire of ten leaves at the end of the first volume. It is evident, however, that this was not its original position. Verdigris marks left by the copper nails holding the buckles of a former binding on fol. 197^v — whose recto bears the colophon — indicate that this page was once the last folio. Verdigris marks also appear on the edges of the folio with the Tree of Consanguinity (Figure 3.1), which thus must have functioned originally as a frontispiece to the manuscript. This representation is immediately followed by the stemma with the genealogy of Christ, then the prologues and the full-page IN (*principio*)-initial introducing Genesis. Thus, the genealogical preface would have functioned as a visual overview over the history of salvation from Adam to Christ. Also in the second volume, historical material was placed in the beginning. Here, the first folia carry simple annals for the years 1–1139 (fols 1^v–6^r), followed by Easter table annals for the years 1140–1310 (fols 6^v–7^v).[9] Thus, universal history at the beginning of the first volume (the time from Adam to Christ) would have been continued at the beginning of the second volume (from Christ onwards to the present day of the compiler).

Very similar material appears in the Floreffe Bible, which was executed for, and very probably at, the Premonstratensian abbey of Floreffe in Namur *c.* 1155/60 (after 1153).[10] The complex iconography of

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allegorical, moral, and anagogical — emphasis was put on the historical sense as the basis for all further interpretation. Still fundamental are Smalley, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages* and de Lubac, *Medieval Exegesis*, esp. II, 41–82.

[5] I borrow this from a groundbreaking article by Herbert Köllner who was first in drawing attention to some of the material discussed here: Köllner, 'Zur Datierung der Bibel von Floreffe'.

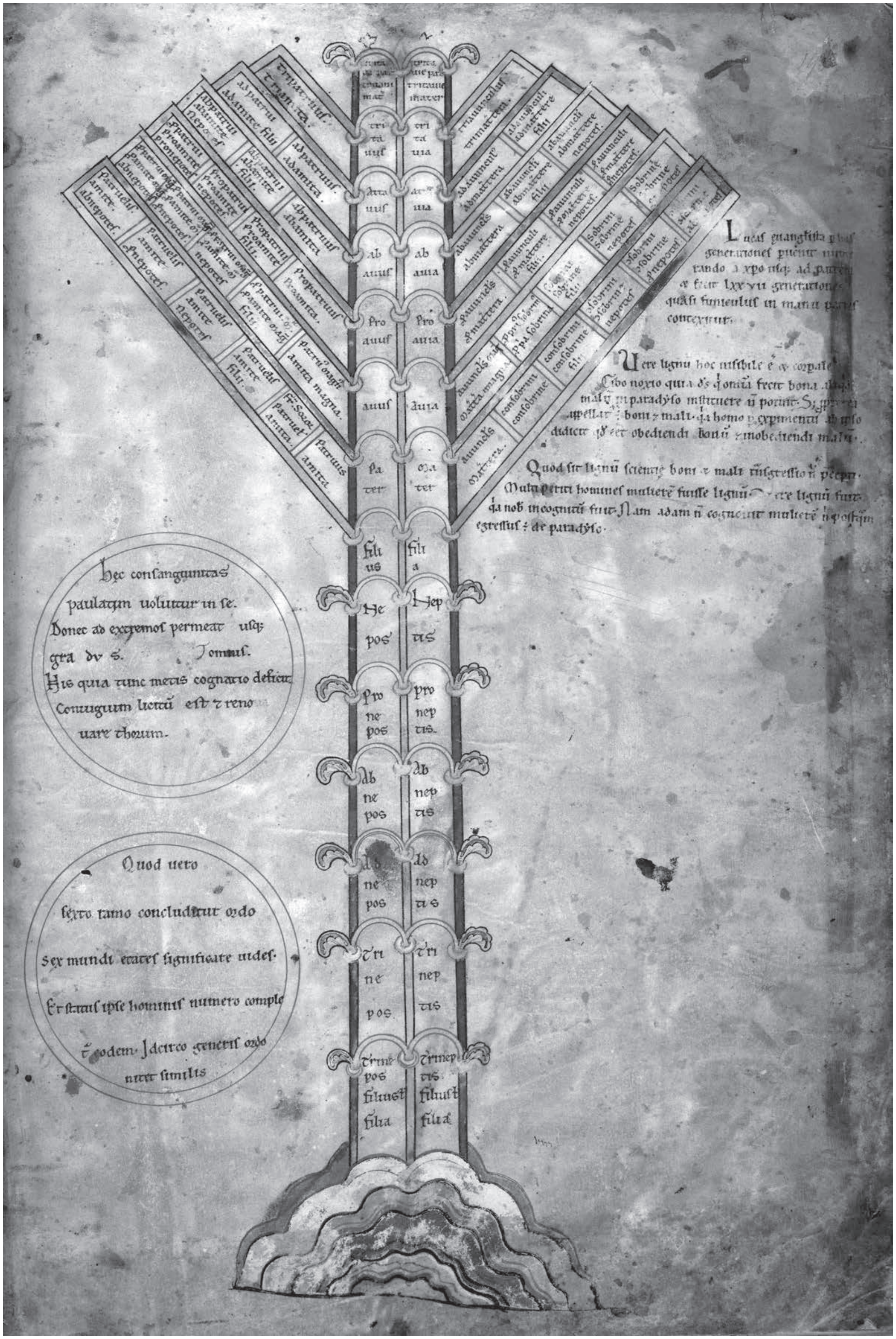
[6] Cahn, *Romanesque Bible Illumination*.

[7] London, BL, MSS Add. 14788–89; Watson, *Catalogue of Dated and Datable Manuscripts*, I, 39, no. 109; Cahn, *Romanesque Bible Illumination*, pp. 136, 265, no. 45; de Balberghe, *Les Manuscrits médiévaux de l'abbaye de Parc*, p. 51 n 3, p. 86 n 2, pp. 98–99; Smeyers, *Flemish Miniatures*, pp. 107–09.

[8] Worm, 'Das illuminierte Wort', pp. 114–16.

[9] 'Annales Parchenses', ed. by Bethmann; as the verdigris marks show, the annals are still in their original — at any rate, their medieval — position in the manuscript. The Parc Bible was acquired by the British Library in 1844; the present binding is modern and was done by the British Library in 1955.

[10] London, BL, Add. MSS 17737–38; the controversy about the dating of the Floreffe Bible prompted by Gretel Chapman can be regarded as settled: based on her interpretation of the annals, Chapman had claimed a date before 1139 (Chapman, 'The Bible of Floreffe: A Study'; Chapman, 'The Bible of Floreffe: Re-dating');


Pa ter
Ma ter
Fili us
Fili a
Ne pos
Nep tis
Pro ne pos
Pro nep tis
Ab ne pos
Ab nep tis
Ad ne pos
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Tri ne pos
Tri nep tis
Trine pos filius et filia
Trinep tis filius et filia
Auus
Auia
Pro auus
Pro auia
Ab auus
Ab auia
Atta uus
Atta uia
Tri ta uus
Tri ta uia
Hec consanguinitas
paulatim uoluitur in se.
Donec ad extremos permeat usq;
gradus. et omnis.
His quia tunc metis cognatio deficit
Coniugium licitu est et reno
uare thorum.
Quod uero
sexto ramo concluditur ordo
sex mundi etates significare uides.
Et status ipse hominis numero comple
tur eodem. Ideirco generis ordo
nunc similis

Figure 3.1. 'Tree of Consanguinity', Parc Bible, London, British Library, Additional MS 14788, fol. 198^{r}. 1148. Photo courtesy of the British Library.

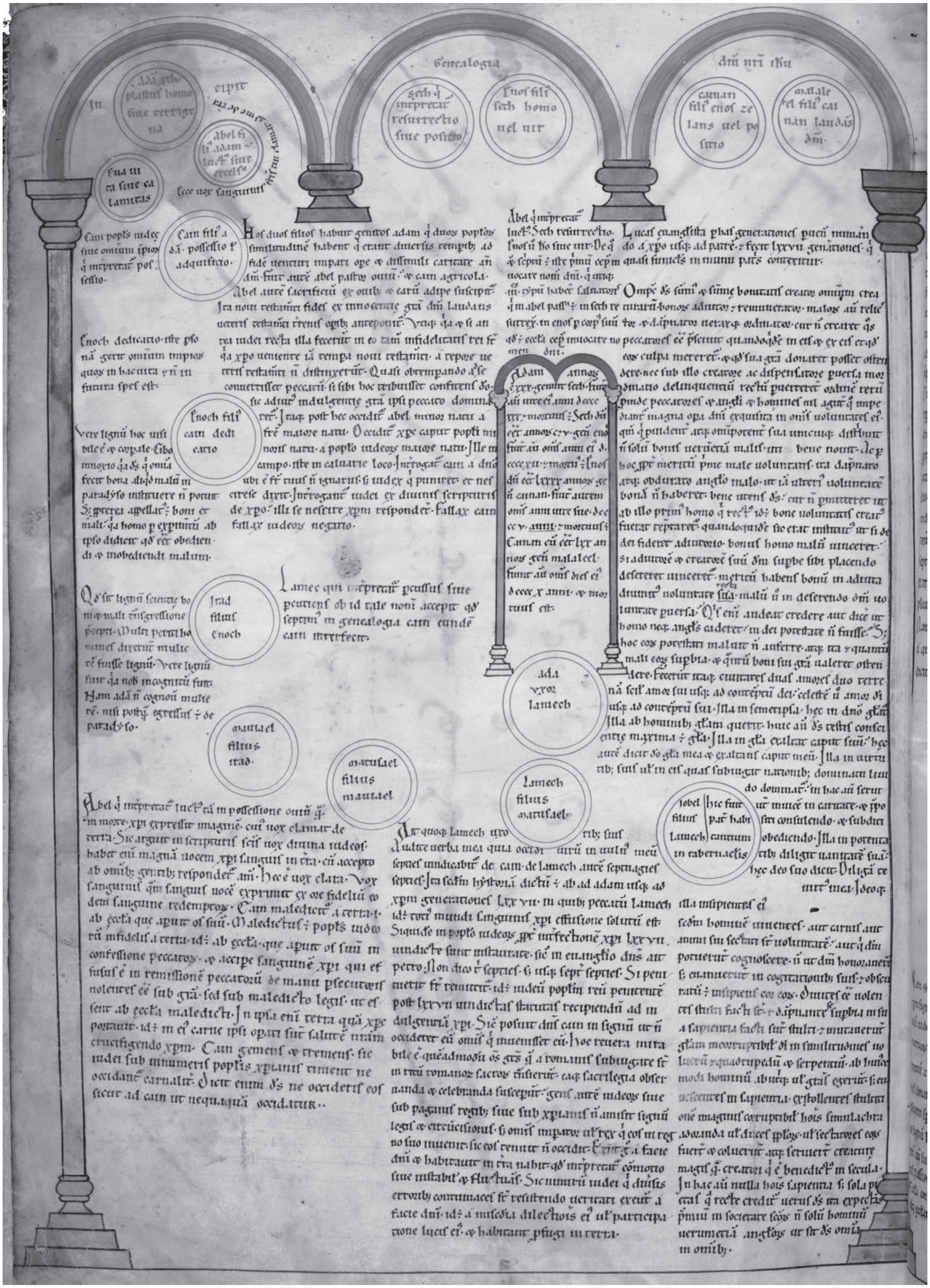

Figure 3.2. ‘Genealogical Stemma’, Parc Bible, London, British Library, Additional MS 14788, fol. 198^{v}. 1148. Photo courtesy of the British Library.

the pictorial programme has attracted a great deal of scholarly attention, and it has been shown that it reflects not only the writings of Rupert of Deutz (d. 1129), but also the spiritual aims of the Premonstratensian Order.[11] At the beginning of the first volume of the Floreffe Bible appears a number of pages with annalistic and diagrammatic material. It begins with Easter table annals (fols 2^v–23^r) encompassing the years 1–1595,[12] followed by a Tree of Consanguinity (fol. 24^r) (Figure 3.3) and the genealogical stemma (fols 24^v–32^v) (Figure 3.4). The genealogy in the Floreffe Bible, like those in the Parc Bible, originally expanded over eighteen pages, but the last folio has been lost; presumably it was excised for its miniature. The material in the Floreffe Bible largely follows the model of the Parc Bible. It is very likely that the Floreffe Bible's prefatory material was in turn copied in another manuscript, the Arnstein Bible. The Floreffe Bible was faithfully transcribed at the Premonstensian abbey of Arnstein an der Lahn in 1172,[13] but the Arnstein Bible only survives in a fragmentary state: its two volumes are kept at the British Library; the annals, now separated from the manuscript, ended up in Darmstadt.[14] In view of the fact that in all its preserved parts including the annals the Arnstein Bible closely followed its model, it is a likely assumption that it originally also contained the same genealogical and historical material as the Floreffe Bible.

The Foigny Bible can be dated on stylistic grounds to the end of the twelfth century and was made in and for the monastery of Sainte Marie in Foigny, a Cistercian house in north-eastern France in the diocese of Laon.[15] The Tree of Consanguinity (fol. 2^r) (Figure 3.5, also Plate 4) is again used as a frontispiece (like in the Parc Bible), appearing on the first opening of the first volume. It is followed by eighteen genealogical tables (fols 2^v–11^r), terminating with an image of the Birth of Christ (Figures 3.6, 3.7). The pages are embellished with highly ornate arcades of great artistic quality. The prominence of the genealogical preface is highlighted not only by its preeminent position at the beginning of the manuscript but also by the fact that the Tree of Consanguinity and the Nativity are the only pictorial elements in this beautifully written but otherwise uniconic four-volume manuscript. The Foigny Bible does not — and never did — contain annalistic material. One other manuscript needs to be mentioned here, even though it does not belong to the group, at least not geographically: the Bible from Burgos, which contains only the stemma showing Christ's genealogy, but neither a Tree of Consanguinity nor annalistic material.[16]

The occurrence of such prefatory material is quite extraordinary. The close similarity between the three Bible manuscripts of Parc, Floreffe, and Foigny leaves no doubt that they must go back to the same source or depend directly on each other. The monastic houses of Parc, Floreffe, and Foigny all played an important role in the early history of their respective order: Floreffe was founded in 1121 by Norbert of Xanten himself (d. 1134) as the second Premonstratensian house, shortly after Prémontré;[17] then followed Sainte-Marie de Parc in 1129 and Arnstein in 1139, which rank among the earliest Premonstratensian convents in Germany. The monastery of Foigny, on the other hand, was established in 1121 by Bernard of Clairvaux (d. 1153) as the third Cistercian house after Clairvaux itself. Foigny quickly rose to become one of the biggest Cistercian abbeys in France. While the transmission of artistic models between houses of the same order is not uncommon, and the con-

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this was challenged for methodological reasons by Herbert Köllner who established a date after 1153, probably *c.* 1155–60 (Köllner, 'Zur Datierung der Bibel von Floreffe'). In this context, Köllner also pointed to the genealogical tables in the Bibles of Parc, Floreffe, and Foigny and to the more general significance of this material for the scholastic interest in the Bible as book of history: Cahn, *Romanesque Bible Illumination*, pp. 198, 208, 265, no. 46; Chapman, 'The Floreffe Bible Revisited' (dating revised to 1153–56); Kuder, 'Die dem Hiobbuch'; Smeyers, *Flemish Miniatures*, pp. 101–03; Bouché, 'The Spirit in the World'.

[11] Kuder, 'Die dem Hiobbuch'; Bouché, 'The Spirit in the World'.

[12] The annals and stemmata take up the first five quires. The annals are given in 'Annales Floreffienses', ed. by Bethmann; for reproductions of the annals see Köllner, 'Zur Datierung der Bibel von Floreffe', figs 2–6 and Chapman, 'The Floreffe Bible Revisited', figs 3–7.

[13] London, BL, MSS Harley 2798–99: Köllner, 'Ein Annalenfragment und die Datierung'; Watson, *Catalogue of Dated and Datable Manuscripts*, I, 128, no. 704; Krings, *Das Prämonstratenserstift Arnstein*, pp. 207–08.

[14] Darmstadt, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, Hs. 4128; the annals were rediscovered and published by Köllner in 1972: Köllner, 'Ein Annalenfragment und die Datierung'.

[15] Paris, BNF, MSS lat. 15177–80; Cahn, *Romanesque Bible Illumination*, p. 279, no. 96; Cahn, *Romanesque Manuscripts*, I: *Text and Illustrations*, pp. 98–99, n. 80, and II: *Catalogue*, p. 201, no. 189; Martinet, 'Les Manuscrits de Foigny', pp. 31–34; Bondéelle-Souchier, *Bibliothèques Ciersterciennes*, pp. 99–101.

[16] See on the Bible from Burgos below, p 43.

[17] Lombet, *L'Abbaye de Floreffe*; Warzée and Gillet-Mignot, *L'Ancienne abbaye de Floreffe*.

nection between Parc, Floreffe, and Arnstein is evident,[18] the occurrence of the same material in the Foigny Bible is more surprising. Parc and Foigny may have been connected, however, through the person of Barthélemy de Jur (d. 1158), Bishop of Laon between 1113 and 1151 who actively promoted both the Premonstratensian and Cistercian Orders.[19] Parc (though not situated in the diocese of Laon) was subordinate to the abbey of Saint-Martin in Laon, founded in 1124 by Barthélemy de Jur in cooperation with Norbert of Xanten. Barthélemy de Jur also founded the Cistercian abbey of Foigny, this time together with Bernard of Clairvaux. Foigny not only quickly rose to considerable wealth and prestige, it also became the place to which Bishop Barthélemy retired in 1151 to end his life as a monk.[20]

If the monks of Foigny used a model from Parc, they chose not to include the annals, presumably because information referring to regional events or to the Premonstratensian Order was of little relevance to a Cistercian house in a different area.[21] Even if we do not know with certainty how the models for the Tree of Consanguinity and the genealogical tables travelled, the questions that need to be addressed are where these models originally came from and how they were adapted and modified to suit their context.

Genealogy Unfolds: Stemmata of Christ's Ancestors and their Iconographic Tradition

In each of the three Bible manuscripts the genealogical stemma comprises eighteen tables (preceded by the Tree of Consanguinity), which provide a comprehensive synopsis. The display of textual information corresponds quite closely in the three versions of the stemma, yet the degree of artistic decoration varies. The framing arcades in the Parc Bible are painted in lively, strong colours with a great variety in the ornamentation of the columns, arches, and capitals (Figure 3.2). The Floreffe example is more sober but very elegant (Figure 3.4); its decoration is limited to the use of mostly red, green, and black outline drawings. The most lavish of the three manuscripts in its use of colour and the variety of ornament is the Foigny Bible (Figures 3.6, 3.7).

The textual basis for the genealogy of Christ is provided by the Gospels of Matthew and Luke. The *Liber generationis* (Matthew 1. 1–16) lists forty-two generations from Abraham to Joseph, emphasizing Christ's royal descent from David and Jesse, thus showing him as the Messiah announced in the prophecies of Balaam (Numbers 24. 17–19) and Isaiah (7. 13–14; 11. 1).[22] Luke's genealogy (3. 23–38), on the other hand, is more comprehensive; it goes back to Adam and lists seventy-seven generations. But the genealogies of Matthew and Luke differ not only in length, but also in the names they give. In the stemmata, the genealogy after Matthew is always represented at the top of the page, while the one after Luke appears at the bottom (Figure 3.7). Ever since the time of the Church Fathers, these discrepancies have prompted various attempts to reconcile the two genealogies.[23] An explanation that gained wide acceptance goes back to Eusebius's *Historia ecclesiastica*.[24] It claims that both genealogies list the ancestors of Jacob. Matthew, who names Jacob as the father of Joseph, traces the line according to the flesh ('secundum carnem'), whereas Luke, who names Heli as the father of Joseph, traces the genealogy according to the law ('secundum legem'). The underlying assumption is that Jacob and Heli were half-brothers, born by the same mother (Estha) but from different fathers (Mathan and Melchi). After Heli (Melchi's son) had died without an heir, Jacob (Mathan's son) accepted his brother's wife as his own and begat Joseph. Thus, according to ancient Jewish custom of Levirate marriage, he gave his brother male offspring and Joseph

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[18] Several correspondences between the annals in the Bibles of Parc and Floreffe indicate a connection between both manuscripts; see 'Annales Floreffienses', ed. by Bethmann, pp. 621–23.

[19] Martinet, *Montlaon*.

[20] Piette, *Histoire de l'abbaye de Foigny*.

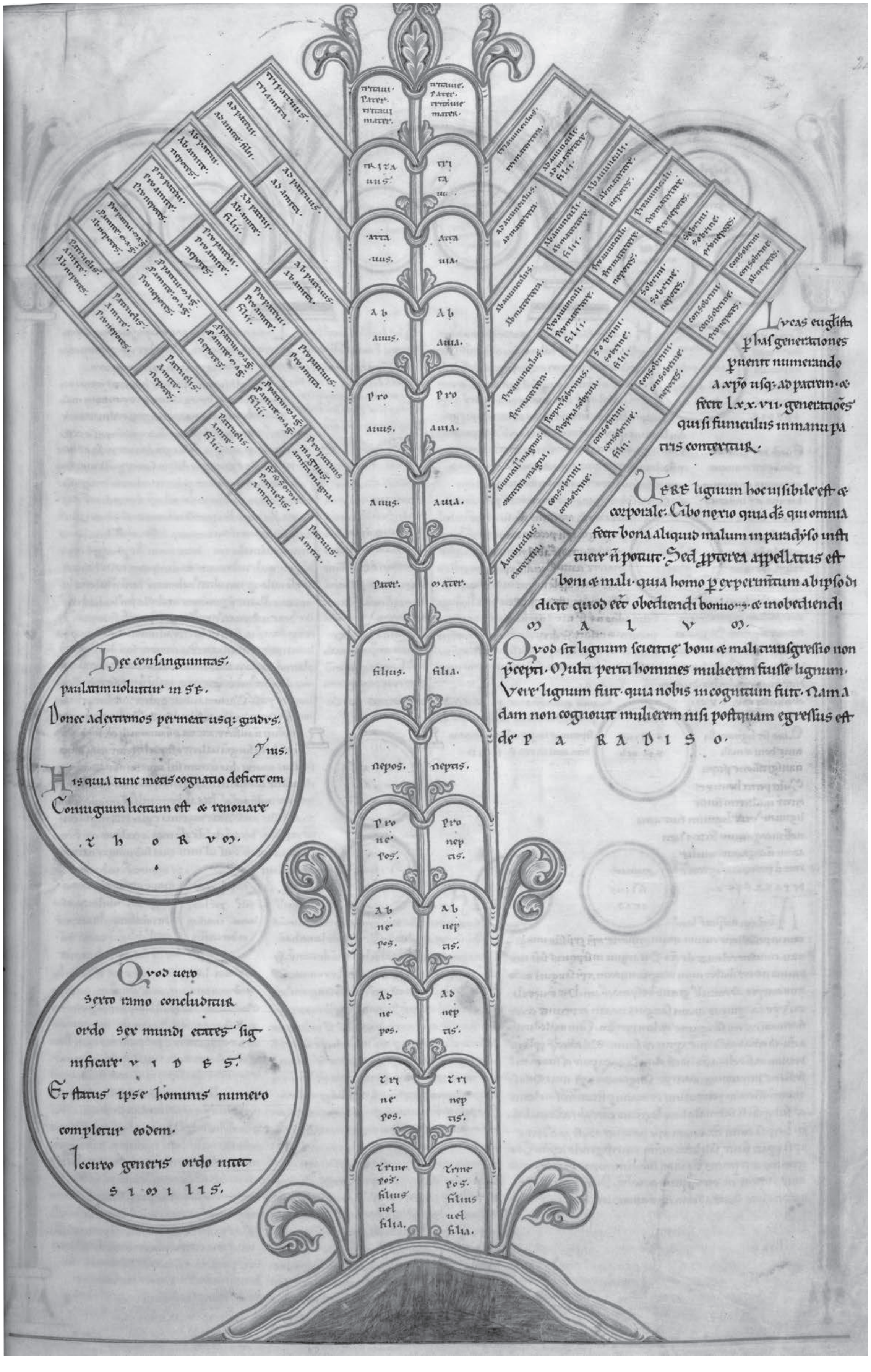
[21] The annals of Parc mention for example the consecration and death of Norbert of Xanten and the foundation of Parc ('Annales Parchenses', ed. by Bethmann, p. 605); cf. the Floreffe Bible ('Annales Floreffienses', ed. by Bethmann, p. 624); selected passages were also transcribed by Köllner, 'Zur Datierung der Bibel von Floreffe', pp. 364, 366–67.

[22] This is the passage which informed the iconography of the Tree of Jesse; see the articles in this volume by Marie-Pierre Gelin, '*Stirps Jesse in capite ecclesiae*: Iconographic and Liturgical Readings of the Tree of Jesse in Stained-Glass Windows', and Pippa Salonius, '*Arbor Jesse – Lignum vitae*: The Tree of Jesse, the Tree of Life, and the Mendicants in Late Medieval Orvieto'.

[23] Voigt, *Der Stammbaum Christi*; Speyer, 'Genealogie', pp. 1214–43; Broszio, *Genealogia Christi*.

[24] Eusebius, *The History of the Church*, trans. by Williamson, rev. and ed. by Louth, pp. 20–23; see also Voigt, *Der Stammbaum Christi*, pp. 1–73. In this passage, Eusebius quotes at length from the 'Epistula ad Aristidem', see Guignard, *La Lettre de Julius Africanus à Aristide*. I thank Jean-Baptiste Piggin for bringing this work to my attention. A summary of the passage is also found in the *Glossa ordinaria*, col. 69 (in the *Patrologia Latina* edition it is erroneously ascribed to Walafried Strabo; *Patrologa Latina* CXIII and CXIV)

Figure 3.3.
'Tree of Consanguinity', Floreffe Bible, London, British Library, Additional MS 17737, fol. 24^{r}.
c. 1153–60.
Photo courtesy of the British Library.


Pater.
Mater.
Filius.
Filia.
Nepos.
Neptis.
Pro nepos.
Pro neptis.
Ab nepos.
Ab neptis.
Trinepos.
Trineptis.
Avus.
Avia.
Pro avus.
Pro avia.
Ab avus.
Ab avia.
Atta vus.
Atta via.
Trita vus.
Trita via.

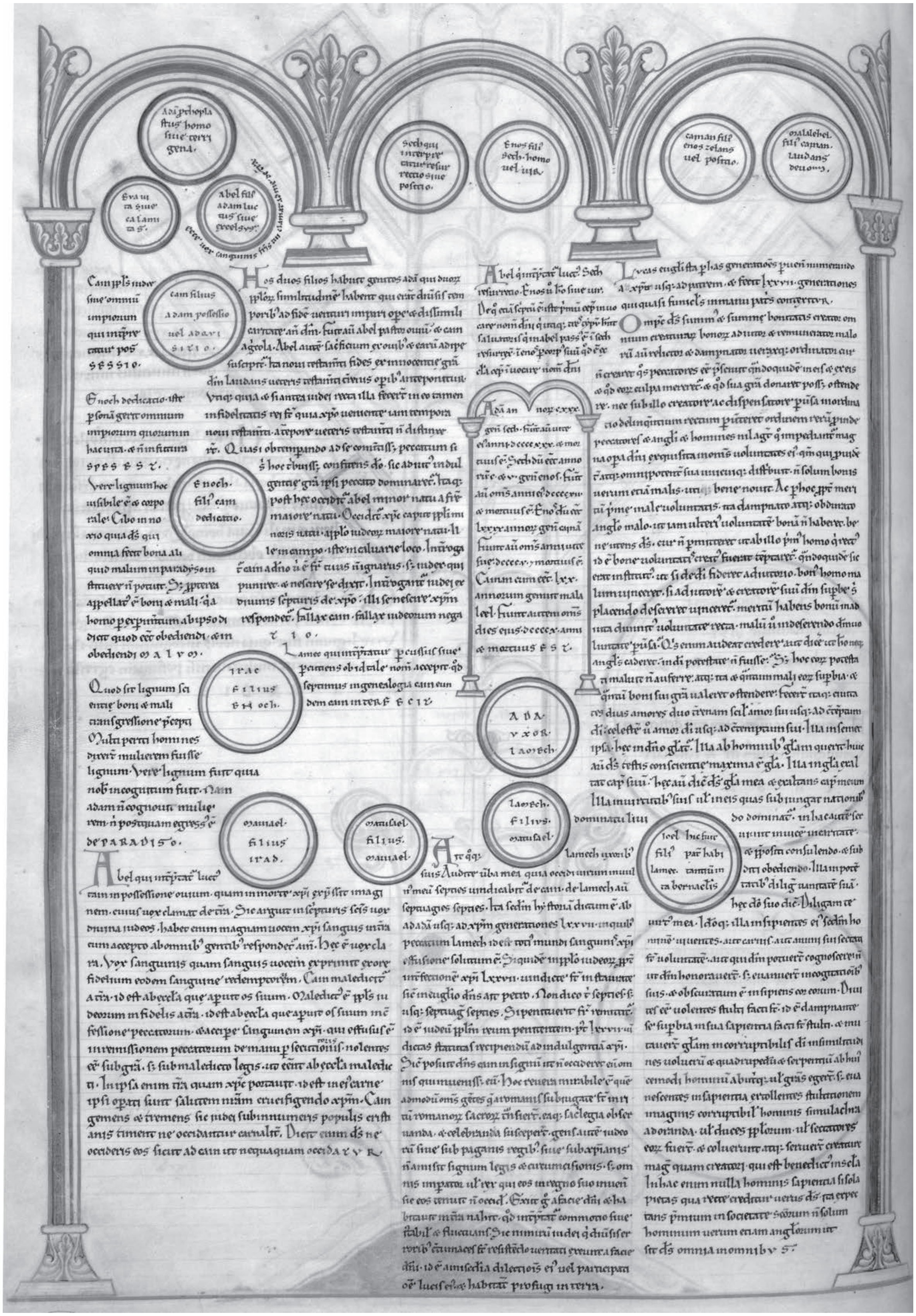


Figure 3.4. 'Genealogical Stemma', Floreffe Bible, London, British Library, Additional MS 17737, fol. 24^{v}. *c.* 1153–60. Photo courtesy of the British Library.

figures as the son of Heli 'secundum legem'. In short, Eusebius argued that Luke traced the ancestors of Heli, while Matthew followed the line of Jacob. In the stemmata, this is the explanation offered in the passage on the last page, where the two genealogical lines reunite in an image of the Birth of Christ (Figure 3.7).[25]

Genealogical stemmata representing the ancestors of Christ make their appearance first and almost exclusively in Spanish book illumination.[26] Herbert Köllner and Yolanta Załuska have already noted that the model for the stemmata in the three Bible manuscripts must have come from Spain.[27] In Spanish illumination, these stemmata occur from the mid-tenth century onwards in copies of Beatus of Liebana's commentary on the Apocalypse, as well as in some Bible manuscripts.[28] In total, about twenty Spanish manuscripts with genealogical tables have come down to us, ranging in date from the tenth to the thirteenth century. As the survey of the Beatus manuscripts by John Williams demonstrates, their appearance is rather uniform: they usually encompass fourteen pages and contain very little explanatory text. The core meaning is encoded diagrammatically; names (and their explanation) and chronological information are mere glosses. Despite the importance of these stemmata and their wide dissemination in Spanish manuscripts, there is no scholarly edition of the text. An edition and full publication of the stemmata in the Bible manuscripts from Parc, Florette, and Foigny are likewise scholarly desiderata. Even though they correspond in their general layout with their Spanish predecessors, there are differences worth noting. First of all, pictorial elements such as the depiction of Adam and Eve or Noah and Abraham, which occur frequently in the Spanish examples, are absent from the Bible manuscripts under discussion.[29] But the main difference lies doubtlessly in the much greater amount of text adjoined to the stemmata.[30]

There is one later manuscript Yolanta Załuska has drawn attention to, which comes a lot closer to the three Bible manuscripts under consideration. The Bible from Burgos, written only around 1200, probably at San Pedro de Cardeña in Castille, is very similar to the Parc-Floreffe-Foigny group in layout and content. However, the stemma here only takes fifteen pages in folio format (in contrast to eighteen in the three Bible manuscripts), but it contains a nearly identical corpus of explanatory text and is very similar in its systematic layout, and also in the fact that there is only one image at the conclusion of the stemma, in this case the Adoration of the Magi.[31] The main problem is that the Burgos Bible postdates the Bibles from Parc, Floreffe, and Foigny and stands completely isolated within the Spanish tradition which prompted Załuska to consider a reciprocal influence from France to Spain in the case of the later Spanish Bible. Thus, until new evidence comes up, the Parc Bible from 1148 is the earliest genealogical stemma with extensive explanatory text known so far. Alongside the medallions are etymological explanations of the biblical names, for example 'Adam: protoplastus homo sive terrigena' (Adam, the first-formed man or taken from earth), 'Abel qui interpretatur luctus' (Abel means light), or 'Seth: qui interpretatur resurrectio sive positio' (Seth means resurrection or position) (Figures 3.2, 3.4, and 3.6). They go back to Jerome's explanations of the Hebrew names, and from there found their way into Isidore's *Etymologiae*. Other passages of text, singled out by frames, contain information on the lifespan of the patriarchs taken from the Old Testament.[32] The longer explanations are often of a typological nature; an example must suffice to give an impression of the character of this as yet unedited but fascinating corpus of text:

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[25] For a transcription of this passage, see the Appendix. It should be pointed out that the wording and meaning of the passage in the Bible manuscripts differ in characteristic aspects from Julius Africanus, foremost in the inclusion of the prophetical passages at the start that are entirely absent from the letter to Aristides.

[26] Neuss, *Die Apokalypse des hl. Johannes*, II, 119–25; Ayuso Marazuela, 'Los elementos extra-biblicos de la Vulgata', pp. 152–62, 174–75; Załuska, 'Feuillets liminaires', pp. 241–44; Załuska, 'Entre texte et image'; Williams, *The Illustrated Beatus*), I: *Introduction* (1994), 56–58, 140. While Neuss held the opinion that the genealogical tables already formed part of the Beatus prototype, Williams argued that they were more likely designed for Bible manuscripts and only added to the original corpus of the Beatus text in the tenth century to stress the christological aspect of the commentary. In his forthcoming article on a manuscript containing the stemma in Firenze, Bib. Laurentiana, Cod. Plut. 20.54, Jean-Baptiste Piggin, 'The Great Stemma', argues for a fifth-century origin.

[27] Köllner, 'Zur Datierung der Bibel von Floreffe'; Załuska, 'Entre texte et image'.

[28] Among the earliest examples rank the Morgan-Beatus from 940/45 and the Bible of León from *c.* 960; New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M 644; Williams, *The Illustrated Beatus*, II (1994), 21–33, no. 2, figs 3–118; León, Real Colegiata de San Isidoro, Cod. 2; Ayuso Marazuela, 'La biblia visigótica de San Isidoro de León'.

[29] Załuska, 'Feuillets liminaires' and Załuska, 'Entre texte et image' has argued that the images highlight the Four Ages or a defective Four Ages theory, but this is not the case.

[30] Burgos, Bib. Pública, no shelf mark; see Luaces, 'La biblia románica'; Luaces, 'Las miniaturas de la Biblia de Burgos'; Cahn, *Romanesque Bible Illumination*, p. 192; Załuska, 'Entre texte et image', pp. 146–47; Duque and Luaces, *Biblia Romanica de Burgos*.

[31] For a reproduction, see the partial facsimile Duque and Luaces, *Biblia Romanica de Burgos*.

[32] For example, 'Adam annorum CXXX genuit Seth. Fiunt autem vite eius anni DCCCXXX et mortuus est. Seth dum esset annorum CV

> Adam had these two sons that are like two peoples at different times [...] Abel was a shepherd, Cain a farmer. And Abel brought a sacrifice from among his sheep and from those a fat one. In the same way, the faith of the New Testament that praises the grace of God out of innocence is preferred to the worldly deeds of the Old Testament. [...] So was Abel, the younger brother killed by the elder one as Christ the head of the people younger by birth was killed by the elder people of the Jews, this one on the field, the other one on [Mount] Calvary. And when Cain was asked by the Lord: Where is your brother, he knew very well that the judge would punish him and he said he did not know. When the Jews were questioned by Christ on Holy Scriptures they responded they did not know Christ. The denial by Cain was deceitful and the denial by the Jews was deceitful.[33]

Although the compiler does not name his sources, it is obvious that Augustine and Isidore play a major role.[34] As a result of this compilation, the genealogical survey not only gives a diagrammatic overview of Christ's two genealogies but also forms a short compendium of biblical history. Furthermore, it assembles additional scholarly information on the most important biblical characters. This clearly points to the use of these Bible manuscripts for study purposes and to the learned environment for which they were designed and in which they operated. The systematic compilation of material and the emphasis on the typological connection between the two Testaments are both characteristic of the twelfth-century approach to Scripture, which seems to indicate that the model for the genealogy of Christ came from a Spanish source but was enriched and expanded.[35]

An element that is without precedence in the Spanish tradition is the use of a Tree of Consanguinity as a frontispiece to the stemma. It is interesting to note, however, that in the Spanish examples Adam and Eve, who are usually depicted at the beginning of the stemma, are shown *after* the Fall of Mankind, covering their sexes. As I will demonstrate, the Tree of Consanguinity in the Parc, Floreffe, and Foigny Bibles can be interpreted as a highly sophisticated diagrammatic replacement of the narrative image of Adam and Eve and the Fall of Mankind.

Trees of Consanguinity as Trees of Knowledge

The occurrence of Trees of Consanguinity (Figures 3.1, 3.3, and 3.5, also Plate 4) in Bible manuscripts is rare if not unique, and so is their specific interpretation in that context. Usually, these abstract schemata serve to visualize family relationships in order to determine allowed and prohibited marriage or to establish claims of inheritance, and therefore they occur mostly in encyclopaedic and legal texts.[36] Despite the term 'arbor consanguinitatis' (first recorded in the eighth century),[37] these diagrams can take quite different shapes, by no means always arboreal. They can be circular or triangular, and very often they appear as anthropomorphic structures, with the diagram superimposed on a standing human figure (see Figure 3.10 below). The imagined self is always, implicitly or explicitly, put in the centre of the structure, and all family relationships are defined in respect to this centre. The central line shows the offspring, son,

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genuit Enos. Fiunt autem omnes anni eius DCCCXII et mortuus est. Enos dum esset LXXXX annorum genuit Cainan. Fiunt autem omnes anni vite sue DCCCV et mortuus est. Cainan cum esset LXX annorum genuit Malalehel. Fiunt autem omnes dies eius DCCCCX anni et mortuus est' (cf. Genesis 5. 3–14).

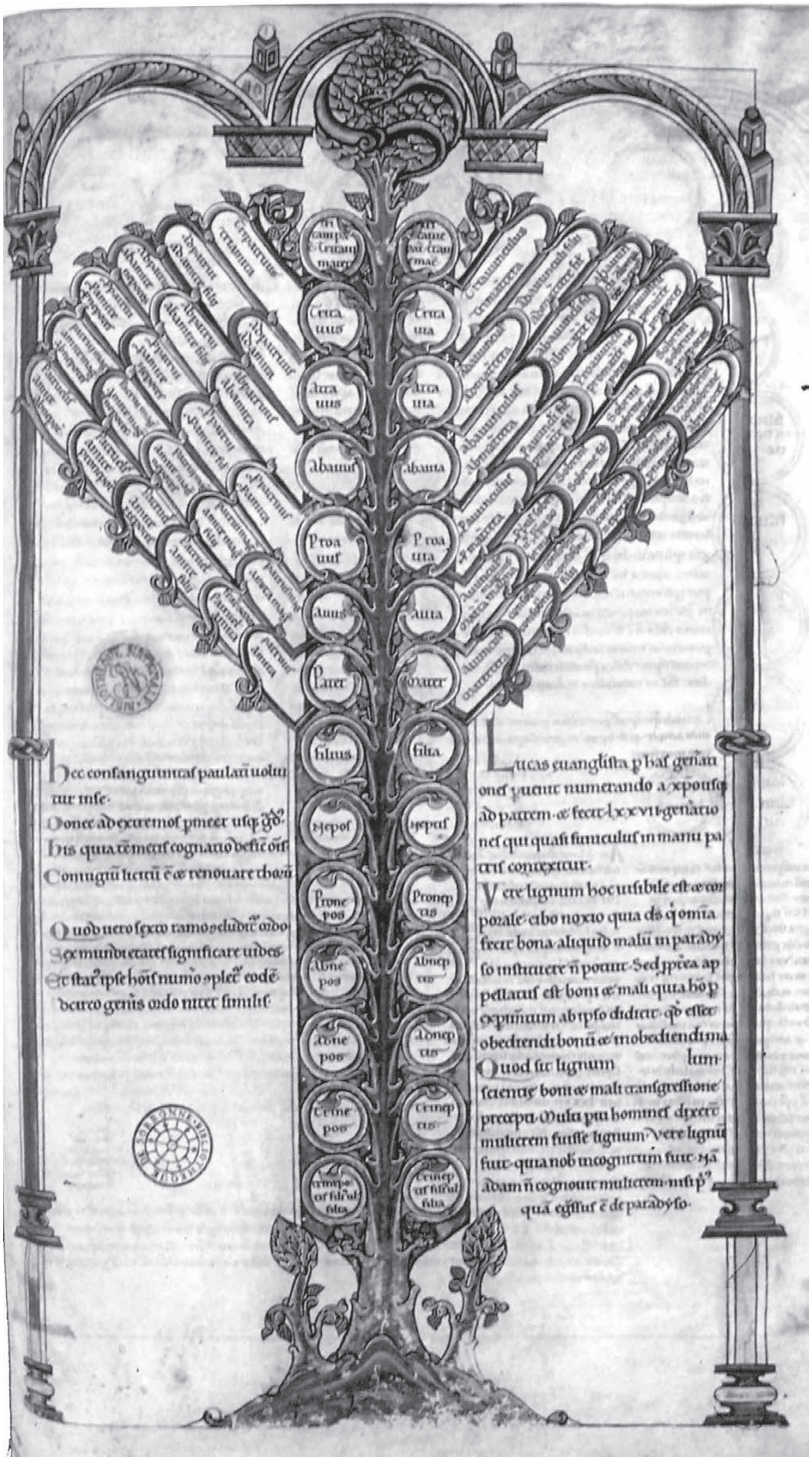
[33] 'Hos duos filios habuit genitos Adam quod duorum populorum similitudinem habent qui erant diversis temporibus [...] fuit autem Abel pastor ovium et Cain agricola. Abel autem sacrifium ex ovibus et earum adipe suscipitur. Ita novi testamenti fides ex innocentie gratiam deum laudans veteris testamenti terrenis operibus anteponitur. [...] Itaque propter hec occiditur Abel minor natu a fratre maiore natu. Occiditur Christus caput populi minoris natu a popolo iudeorum maiore natu. Ille in campo, iste in Calvarie loco. Interrogatur Cain a domino Ubi est frater tuus, non ignarus sed iudex qui puniret et nescire se dixit. Interrogantur Iudei ex divinis scripturis de Christo illi se nescire Christum respondent. Fallax Cain fallax Iudeorum negatio.' For a full transcription of this part, see the Appendix.

[34] The only case where the author is named, albeit indirectly, is the passage on Saul and the witch of Endor (I Kings 28. 1–25) that is based on Augustine's letter to Simplicianus; Augustine, *De octo dulcitii quaestionibus*, cols 162–65. The passage in the Bible manuscripts, however, follows — in parts verbatim — Isidore of Seville, *Quaestiones in Regum I*, c. 20, cols 407–10.

[35] Herbert Köllner considered a connection to Anselm of Laon and his school; Köllner, 'Zur Datierung der Bibel von Floreffe', p. 374. Although without further research on the text, this remains hypothetical, the character of the compilation seems not altogether dissimilar from the *Glossa ordinaria* that was composed at the cathedral school of Laon in the circle of Anselm of Laon; on Anselm of Laon and his school, see Giraud, *De verba magistri*.

[36] Schadt, *Die Darstellungen der Arbores Consanguinitatis*.

[37] In a manuscript of Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae*: Madrid, Escorial, MS I14, fol. 51^{r}; Schadt, *Die Darstellungen der Arbores Consanguinitatis*, p. 15, n. 15, p. 67; Bischoff, 'Die europäische Verbreitung der Werke Isidors von Sevilla'.


Tritaui pat̄ & tritauie mat̄
Tritauie pat̄ & tritauie mat̄
Tritauus
Tritauia
Atauus
Atauia
Abauus
Abauia
Proauus
Proauia
Auus
Auia
Pater
Mater
Filius
Filia
Nepos
Neptis
Pronepos
Proneptis
Abnepos
Abneptis
Adnepos
Adneptis
Trinepos
Trineptis
Trinepos et filius filia
Trineptis filius filia

Hec consanguinitas paulatī uolui
tur ipse.
Donec ad extremos pueniat usq; gd'.
His quia tēminis cognatio deficit oīs
Coniugiū licitū ē & renouare thorū

Quod uero sexto ramo ɔcludit ordo
Sex mundi etates significare uides.
Et status ipse hoīs numero ɔplectit' eodē
Decreto genis ordo nitet similis.

Lucas euangelista p has genāti
ones puenit numerando a xpo usq;
ad patrem. & fecit lxxvii. genātio
nes qui quasi funiculus in manu pa
tris contexitur.
Vere lignum hoc uisibile est & cor
porale. cibo noxio quia ds q̇ omīa
fecit bona. aliquid malū in parady
so instituere n̄ potuit. Sed pp̄tea ap
pellatus est boni & mali quia hō p
experimentum ab ipso didicit. qđ esset
obediendi bonū & inobediendi ma
Quod sit lignum lum.
scientie boni & mali transgressione
precepti. Multi piu homines dixere
mulierem fuisse lignum. Vere lignū
fuit. quia nob incognitum fuit. Nā
adam n̄ cognouit mulierem. nisi p'
quā egssus ē de paradyso.

Figure 3.5. (Plate 4, p. xvi)
'Tree of Consanguinity',
Foigny Bible, Paris, Bibliothèque
nationale de France, MS lat. 15177,
fol. 2r. *c.* 1190–1200.
Photo courtesy of the Bibliothèque
nationale de France.

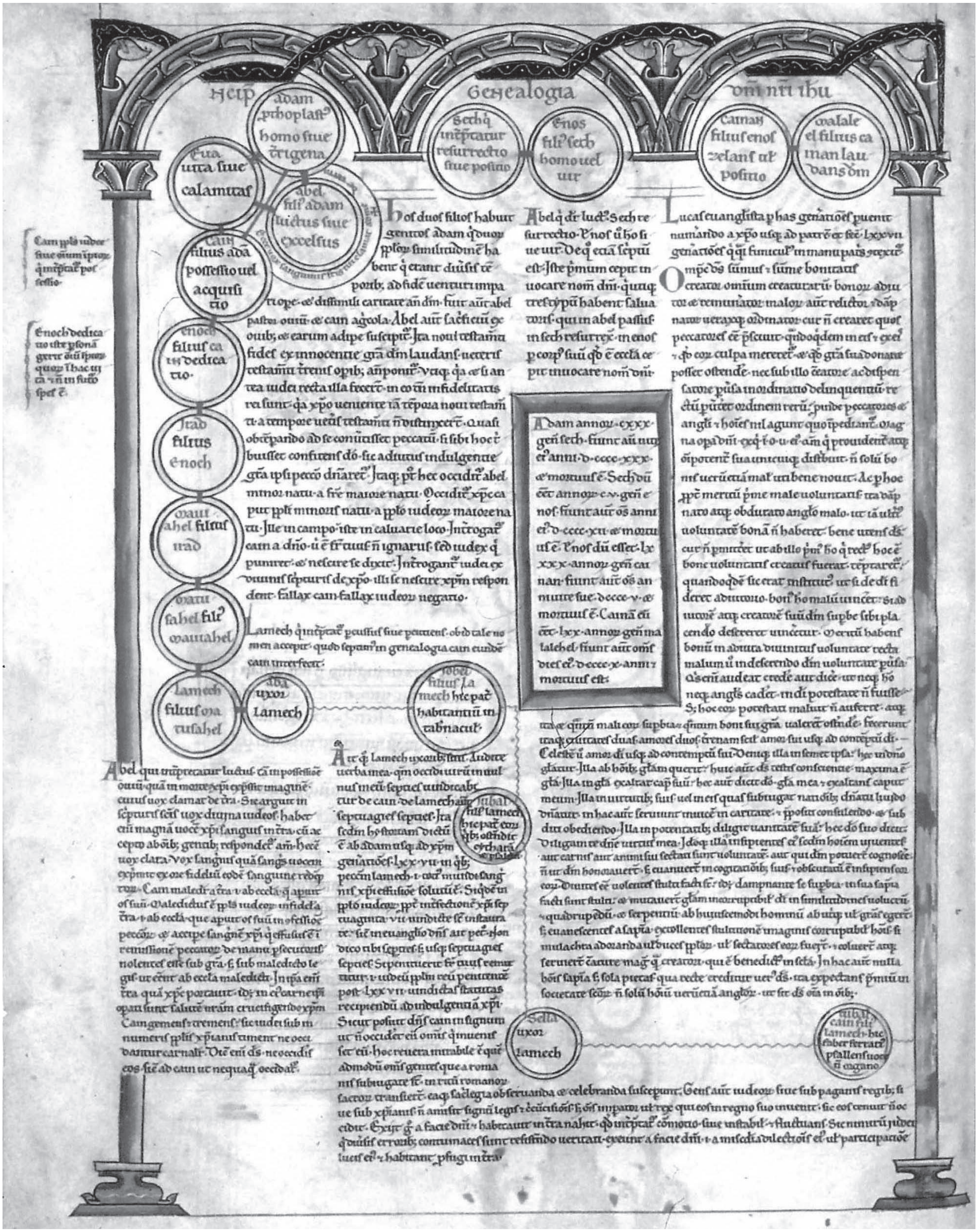
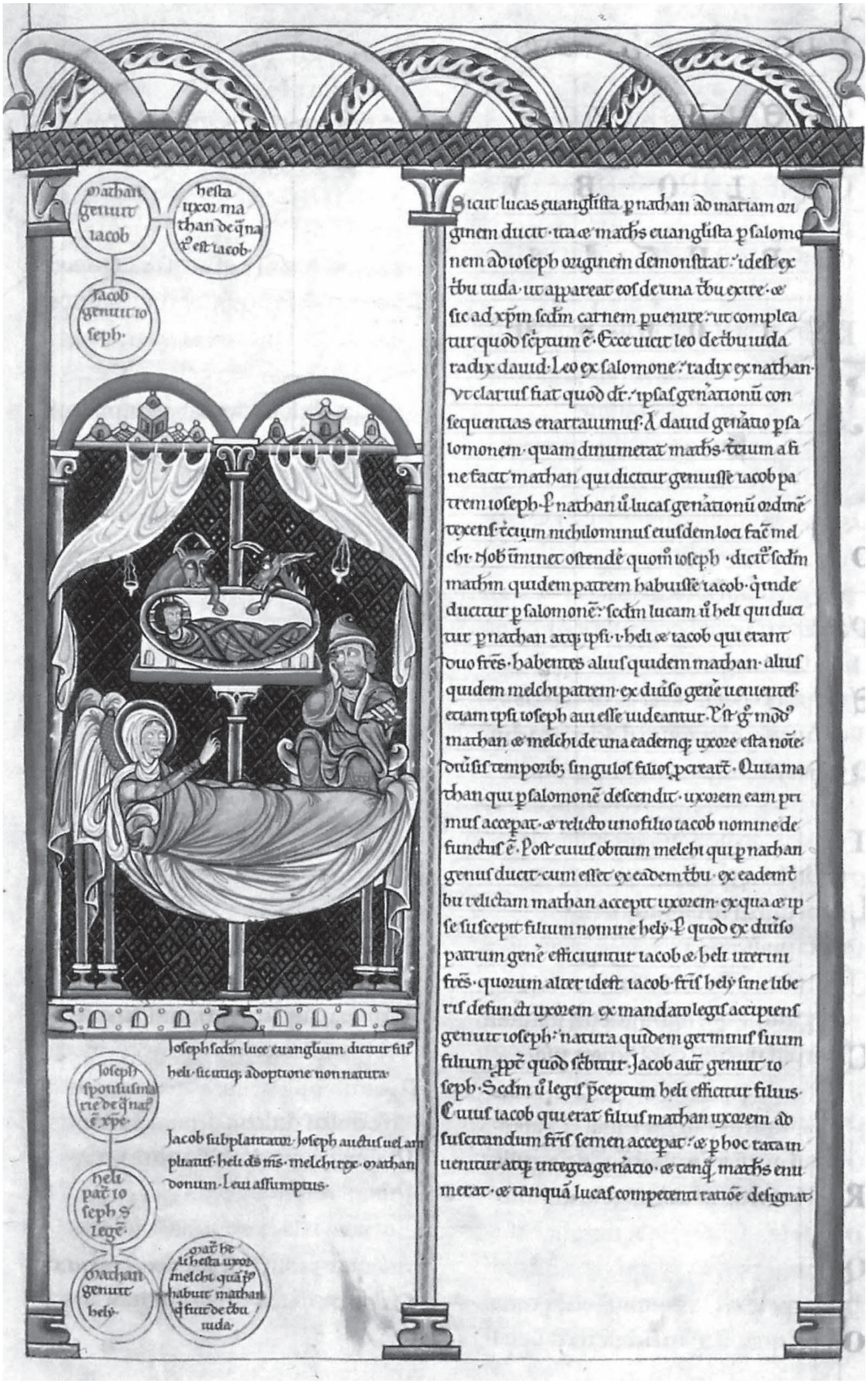

Genealogia

Figure 3.6. 'Genealogical Stemma', Foigny Bible, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 15177, fol. 2v. *c.* 1190–1200. Photo courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France.


Mathan genuit iacob
hesta uxor mathan de qua natus est iacob
Iacob genuit ioseph
Joseph sponsus marie de qua natus est xpc
heli pater ioseph secundum legem
Mathan genuit hely
Mater heli hesta uxor melchi quam prius habuit mathan qui fuit de tribu iuda

Sicut lucas euangelista per nathan ad mariam ori
ginem ducit · ita et matheus euangelista per salomo
nem ad ioseph originem demonstrat : idest ex
tribu iuda · ut appareat eos de una tribu exire · et
sic ad xpm secundum carnem peruenire : ut complea
tur quod scriptum est · Ecce uicit leo de tribu iuda
radix dauid · Leo ex salomone : radix ex nathan ·
Ut clarius fiat quod dicitur : ipsas generationum con
sequentias enarrauimus · A dauid generatio per sa
lomonem · quam dinumerat matheus · tercium a fi
ne facit mathan qui dicitur genuisse iacob pa
trem ioseph · Per nathan uero lucas generationum ordinem
texens · tercium nichilominus eiusdem loci facit mel
chi · Nobis imminet ostendere quomodo ioseph · dicitur secundum
matheum quidem patrem habuisse iacob · qui inde
ducitur per salomonem : secundum lucam uero heli qui duci
tur per nathan atque ipsi · i · heli et iacob qui erant
duo fratres · habentes alius quidem mathan · alius
quidem melchi patrem · ex diuerso genere uenientes ·
etiam ipsi ioseph aui esse uideantur · Sic ergo modo
mathan et melchi de una eademque uxore esta nomine
diuersis temporibus singulos filios procreant · Quia ma
than qui per salomonem descendit · uxorem eam pri
mus acceperat · et relicto uno filio iacob nomine de
functus est · Post cuius obitum melchi qui per nathan
genus ducit · cum esset ex eadem tribu · ex eadem tri
bu relictam mathan accepit uxorem · ex qua et ip
se suscepit filium nomine hely · Per quod ex diuerso
patrum genere efficiuntur iacob et heli uterini
fratres · quorum alter idest iacob · fratris hely sine libe
ris defuncti uxorem ex mandato legis accipiens
genuit ioseph : natura quidem germinis suum
filium · propter quod scribitur · Jacob autem genuit io
seph · Secundum uero legis preceptum heli efficitur filius ·
Cuius iacob qui erat filius mathan uxorem ad
suscitandum fratris semen acceperat : et per hoc rata in
uenitur atque integra generatio · et tanquam matheus enu
merat · et tanquam lucas competenti ratione designat ·

Joseph secundum luce euangelium dicitur filius
heli · sicutique adoptione non natura ·

Jacob subplantator · Joseph auctus uel am
pliatus · heli deus meus · melchi rex · mathan
donum · leui assumptus ·

Figure 3.7.
'Last page of the genealogical stemma with the Birth of Christ', Foigny Bible, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 15177, fol. 11ʳ. *c*. 1190–1200. Photo courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France.

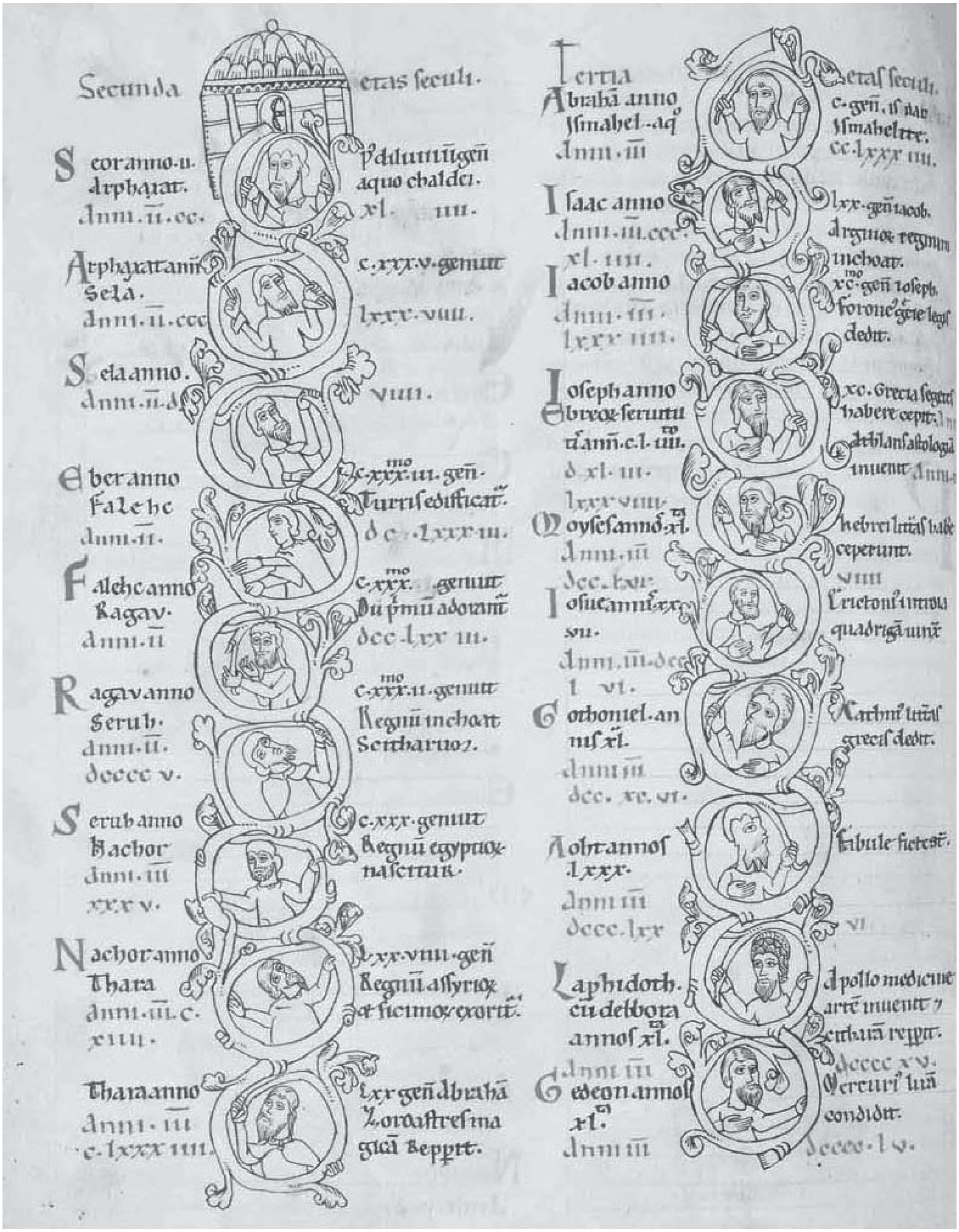


Figure 3.8. 'Genealogy', Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae*, London, British Library, MS Harley 3099, fol. 39^{v}. *c.* 1134. Photo courtesy of the British Library.

daughter ('filius', 'filia', etc.), in descending order, and in ascending order the male and female ancestors, mother, father ('mater', 'pater', etc.). Uncles, aunts, great-uncles, etc. appear in the branches on both sides of the trunk. In the three examples under consideration, the imagined self is placed where the branches emerge from the stem, between the row of 'pater', 'mater' and 'filius', 'filia' on the trunk. The structure is symmetrically divided: the left-hand side shows the 'agnati', the paternal relatives, the right-hand side the 'cognati', the maternal relatives. Six degrees of family relationships are represented, thus including all the family relationships within which marriage was forbidden by canon law. Even though Trees of Consanguinity occur frequently in legal manuscripts such as Burchardt of Worms's decretals or the *Decretum Gratiani*, the earliest examples are to be found in Isidore's *Etymologiae*, where they are placed within the chapter on family relationships, which also deals with marriage and the laws concerning it (IX, v–vii). Isidore describes his diagram as follows:

> While this consanguinity diminishes towards the end of the last degree, as it subdivides through the levels of descent and kinship ceases to exist, the law recovers it again through the bond of matrimony, and in a certain way calls it back as it slips away. Thus, consanguinity is established up to the sixth degree of kinship, so that just as the generation of the world and the status of humankind comes to an end through six ages, so kinship in a family is terminated by the same number of degrees.[38]

In many examples, this explanatory passage is written next to the Tree of Consanguinity as is the case with a twelfth-century copy of Isidore's *Etymologiae*, made in the nunnery of Munsterbilsen in 1134 (Figure 3.8).[39] The Munsterbilsen copy is particularly interesting in view of our argument: at the beginning of the manuscript, where Isidore speaks of the ages of the world and the reckoning of time, he gives a list of persons, on which he bases his chronology, starting with Adam and the Creation of the world, including not only ancestors of Christ, but also ancient rulers up to the Emperors Phokas and Heraklius, ending with the year 696.[40] The illuminator of the Munsterbilsen Isidore chose the form of a tendril interconnecting the medallions enclosing the protagonists of human history (Figure 3.8), thus creating a visual link to the branches and tendrils of the Tree of Consanguinity (Figure 3.9) and stressing the connection between the course of human history as a whole and the individual human relationships. The visual reference between these drawings is particularly strong as they are the only pictorial elements in this codex.

Although sometimes the Tree of Consanguinity is shown — as is the case with the Munsterbilsen Isidore — with tendrils and leaves, the branches of the 'agnati' and 'cognati' almost always emerge horizontally. It is actually extremely uncommon that they point *upwards* like in the three Bible manuscripts. The oblique angle of the branches, the leaves, and the tendrils and the fact that the trunks are each rooted on a small hill make the evocation of a tree particularly convincing. In the Foigny Bible (Figure 3.5), the tree takes an even more organic form than in the other two manuscripts, with leaves and fruit that vaguely resemble pine-cones. In the Parc Bible (Figure 3.1) and the Floreffe Bible (Figure 3.3), the Tree of Consanguinity is almost identical; also, in both cases the accompanying text is written in large medallions thus highlighting the connection to the circles in the stemma that follows. The Foigny Bible (Figure 3.5 and Plate 4) is the most pictorially elaborate example. A small dragon-like serpent with a red fruit in its mouth curls around the top of the tree. From the hill on which the tree is planted the four Rivers of Paradise emerge. Thus, the Tree of Consanguinity is equated with the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil (Genesis 2. 9). While the degree of pictorial elaboration varies, the texts adjoined to the Trees of Consanguinity are identical in the three manuscripts. The passages on the left-hand side read:

> This [representation] of Consanguinity gradually unrolls within itself, until it goes along to the extremities, right up to the sixth degree. At this point all relationship ceases completely. Unions are allowed and thus marriage is restored.

---

[38] 'Hec consanguinitatis dum se paulatim propaginum ordininibus dirimens usque ad ultimum gradum subtraxerit, et propinquitas esse desierit, eam rursus lex matrimonii vinculo repetit, et quodam modo revocat fugientem. Ideo autem usque ad sextum generis gradum consanguinitatis constituta est, ut sicut sex etatibus mundi generatio et hominis statutis finitur. ita propinquitas generis tot gradibus terminaretur': Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiarum sive originum libri XX*, ed. by Lindsay, IX, vi, 29; English translation above after Isidore of Seville, *The Etymologies of Isidore of Seville*, trans. by Barney and others, p. 210; see also Borst, 'Das Bild der Geschichte'.

[39] London, BL, MS Harley 3099, Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae*; the manuscript was written in the nunnery of Munsterbilsen (Southern Netherlands) in 1134, but entered the Arnstein library in the twelfth century; Watson, *Catalogue of Dated and Datable Manuscripts*, I, 132, no. 729.

[40] Isidore of Seville, *The Etymologies of Isidore of Seville*, trans. by Barney and others, pp. 130–33.

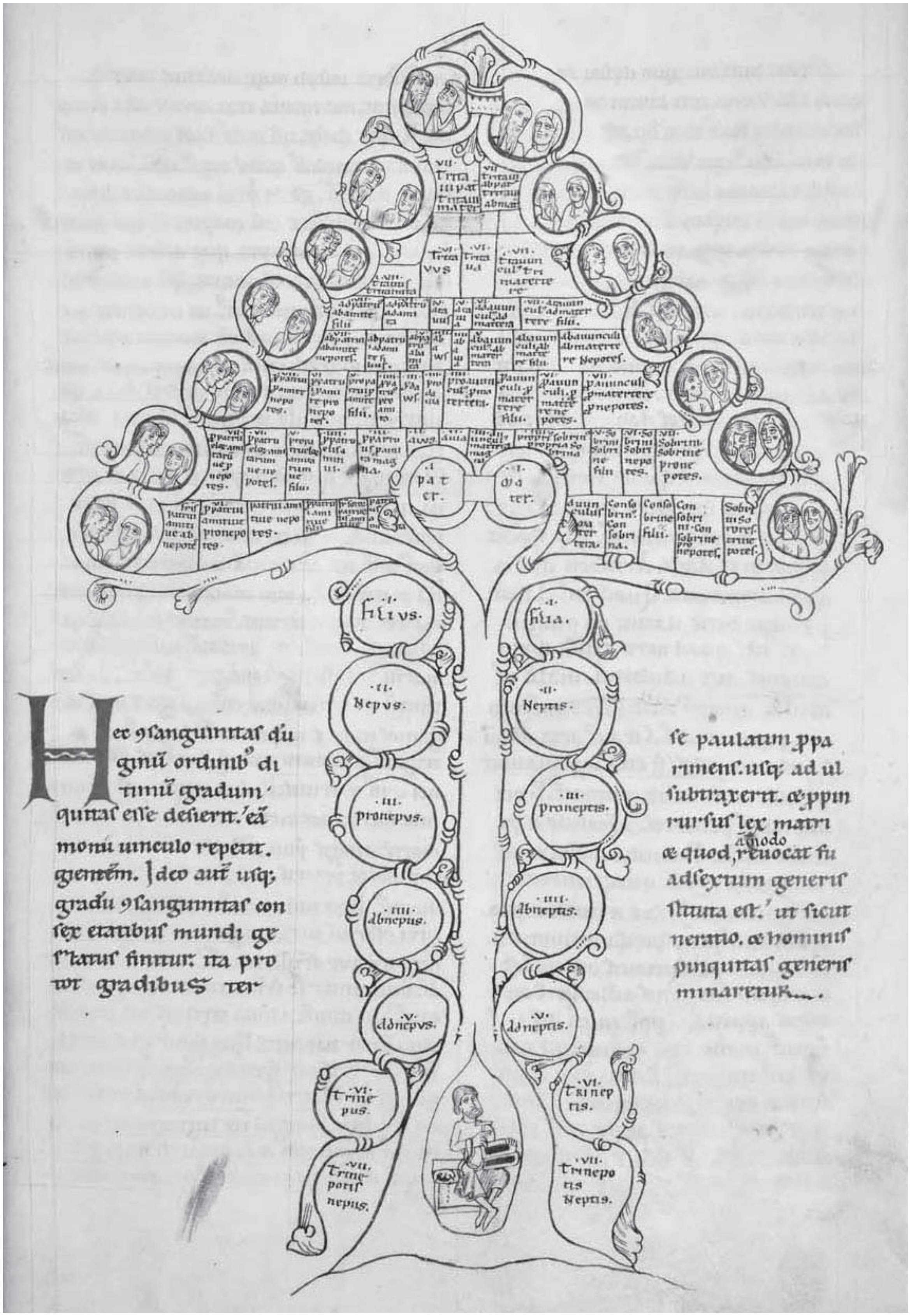

·I· pater.
·I· mater.
·I· filius.
·I· filia.
·II· nepus.
·II· neptis.
·III· pronepus.
·III· proneptis.
·IIII· abnepus.
·IIII· abneptis.
·V· adnepus.
·V· adneptis.
·VI· trinepus.
·VI· trineptis.
·VII· trinepotis nepus.
·VII· trinepotis neptis.

Figure 3.9. ‘Tree of Consanguinity’, Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae*, London, British Library, MS Harley 3099, fol. 77ʳ. *c.* 1134. Photo courtesy of the British Library.

> Because indeed the order is excluded at the sixth branch, you see that it signifies the six ages of the world. And the state of mankind is fulfilled by the same number. Therefore a similar order of generations flourishes.[41]

This text, an elaboration of the above quoted passage from Isidore, refers to the function of the tree showing the degrees of family relationships within which marriage was forbidden, but also linking the six degrees of consanguinity to the Augustinian concept of the Six Ages of the World and to the Six Ages of Man.[42] In this juxtaposition, the diagram points to the mirroring of microcosm and macrocosm and reveals the divine order underlying all things created in this correspondence of elements. This universal dimension is even more pronounced in the text on the right of the Trees of Consanguinity in the three Bible manuscripts:

> Luke the evangelist enumerated the generations from Christ to the father and came up with seventy-seven generations, which are woven together in the hand of the Father like a string.
>
> Truly, this tree is visible and corporeal. The Lord who made everything good could not install something bad in paradise by harmful food. But because of this it is called [the tree] of good and evil, because man learnt for himself by experience what was the good of obedience and the evil of disobedience.
>
> What the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil [Genesis 1. 11] [was], they experienced by transgression. Many knowledgeable people said that the woman was the tree. And truly, she was the tree, because to us it was unknown and Adam did not know [in the biblical sense, i.e. 'have sexual intercourse with'] the woman until he had left Paradise.[43]

In contrast to the first text, this passage has no counterpart in Isidore or — as far as I can see — elsewhere and was apparently conceived for this particular context. The first part refers to the genealogy after Luke (3. 23–38), and to the seventy-seven ancestors from Adam to Christ. The wording is remarkable because the metaphor of the string of generations held in the Father's hand links the text to the diagrammatic genealogy. Moreover, the same passage appears also on the first table (right column, top right, Figures 3.2, 3.4, and 3.6).[44] The explanations on the Tree of Paradise as the *Lignum vitae* and on the Fall of Man are even more striking. In part, they seem to be based on the thoughts expressed in Augustine's exegesis of Genesis, *De Genesi ad litteram*.[45] It is stated that Adam 'knew' Eve only after the Fall and the expulsion from Paradise. Thus, sexuality and mortality came into the world, and the cycle of procreation and death, and with it the history of mankind began. That woman is equated with the tree — 'mulierem fuisse lignum' — however, seems very unusual. On the one hand, this might well allude to the Tree of Life becoming the Tree of Death after the Fall of Man, and to Eve being the cause of death: Eve eating the fruit from the Tree of Knowledge ('lignum') and offering it to Adam caused the expulsion from Paradise and thus the need of mankind for Redemption.[46] But on the other hand, one could think also of the typological connection between Eve and the Virgin Mary, who, free from sin, gave birth to the Saviour whose sacrifice on the cross ('lignum') saved mankind. Possibly, it was Isaiah's prophecy (Isaiah 11. 1) 'et egreditur virga de radice Iesse' and the identification of the *virga* (rod) with the *virgo* (Virgin) which might have led to the identification of Mary with the 'lignum' here.[47] But as such, the interpretation of the Tree of Consanguinity as the *Lignum vitae*, the Tree of Life in Paradise, is without precedence or parallel.

---

[41] 'Hec consanguinitatis paulatim volvitur in se donec ad extremos permeat usque ad sextus gradus. His quia tunc metis cognatio deficit omnis coniugium licitum est et renovare thorum. Quod vero sexto ramo excluditur ordo sex mundi etates significare vides et status ipse hominis numero expletur eodem idcirco generis ordo nitet similis.' My transcription follows the Bible of Foigny since as the earliest of the three manuscripts, here London, BL, Add. MS 14788, fol. 198^{r}; translations are my own.

[42] Schadt, *Die Darstellungen der Arbores Consanguinitatis*, pp. 100–04; in analogy to the six days of creation, Augustine, *De civitate Dei*, ed. by Dombart and Kalb, xx. 30 (p. 865).

[43] 'Lucas evangelista per has generationes pervenit numerando a Christo usque ad patrem et fecit LXXVII generationes qui quasi funiculus in manu patris contexitur. Vere lignum hoc visibile est et corporale. Cibo noxio quia dominus qui omnia fecit bona aliquid malum in paradyso instituere non potuit. Sed propterea appelatus est boni et mali quia homo per experimentum ab ipso didicit quod esset oboediendi bonum et inoboediendi malum. Quod sic lignum scientie boni et mali transgressione precepti. Multi periti homines dixerunt mulierem fuisse lignum. Vere lignum fuit quia nobis incognitum fuit nam Adam non cognovit mulierem nisi priusquam egressus est de paradyso.'

[44] See also the transcription in the Appendix.

[45] 'Sequitur ut videamus de ligno scientiae dignoscendi bonum et malum: Prorsus est hoc lignum erat visibile ac corporale, sicut arbores ceterae. Quod ergo lignum esset, non est dubitandum: sed cur hoc nomen acceperit, requirendum. […] non fuisse illam arborem cibo noxiam; neque enim qui fecerat omnia bona valde, in paradise non instituerat aliquid mali; sed malum fuisse homini transgressionem praecepti. […] Arbor itaque illa non erat mala, sed appelata est scientiae dignoscendi bonum et malum, qui si post prohibitionem ex illa homo ederet, in illa erat praecepti futura transgressio, in qua homo per experimentum poenae disceret, quod interesset inter obedientae bonum et inobedientiae malum': Augustine, *De Genesi ad litteram*, col 337.

[46] See the article in this volume by Barbara Baert and Liesbet Kusters, 'The Tree as Narrative, Formal, and Allegorical Index in Representations of the *Noli me tangere*'.

Unlike an image of the Fall of Man, the arboreal schemata function on different levels of interpretation — and that seems precisely what made them so appealing in the context of the three Bible manuscripts.[48] To Isidore's explanation correlating the six degrees of consanguinity with the Ages of the World was added an explicit identification with the Tree of Knowledge in the text adjoined to the image. The eating of the forbidden fruit led Adam and Eve to recognize their nakedness, their bodies, led to procreation and death. It thus instigated the history of mankind, but also caused the need for the redemption in Christ's sacrifice on the cross, the *Lignum vitae*. The Tree in Paradise prefigures the wood of the cross and the salvation of man at the end of time. Also, the six degrees of consanguinity that are juxtaposed to the six ages of the world do not merely represent human relationships and the human dimension of time in the succession of generations. Just as all affinity ends after the sixth degree, so will all family relationships cease with the end of the sixth age of the world. In the new and eternal paradise of the Heavenly Jerusalem, neither family relationships nor procreation nor time will exist, and the primordial state of the world before the occurrence of sin will be restored.

Trees of Consangunity: On the Relevance of Context

Examples like the Trees of Consanguinity in the three Bible manuscripts demonstrate how much the interpretation of an image or a diagram depends on its context. Even though the appearance and the specific visual interpretation of the *arbores* in the three Bible manuscripts seem unique, there are parallels in their use in the computistic and historical tradition. Both Faith Wallis and Evelyn Edson pointed to Trees of Consanguinity that appear in codices with computistic material and observed that it is not just the random accumulation of diagrams in such books that caused their inclusion but the very fact that they point to the human dimension of time.[49] It is also worth noting that, for example, Lambert of Saint-Omer (d. 1125) included a Tree of Consanguinity in his encyclopaedia, the *Liber floridus*[50] (see Figure 6.10), where it prefaces a quire that contains the genealogies of the counts of Flanders and of the Frankish rulers as well as various other historical materials.[51] In these and other similar cases, the inclusion of the Tree of Consanguinity results from the relevance of genealogy for historical writing, particularly for dynastic history — for which, after all, laws relating to marriage were a crucial factor.[52]

Another work of genealogical history that often includes a Tree of Consanuginity (often also a Tree of Affinity) is Peter of Poitiers's *Compendium historiae in genealogia Christi* (Figures 3.10 and 3.11).

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[47] This prophecy was the source for the iconography of the Tree of Jesse (see the articles in this volume by Gelin, '*Stirps Jesse in capite ecclesiae*', and Salonius, '*Arbor Jesse – Lignum vitae*'). In some cases, the Tree of Jesse is combined with the Crucifixion, for example in the Scherenberg-Psalter, where both images mirror each other on a double page (Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbiblitohek, Cod. St. Peter perg. 139, fols 7^{v}–8^{r}); Heinzer and Stamm, *Die Handschriften*, pp. 231–34; another example is the *Speculum humanae salvationis* (Kremsmünster, Library of the Convent, Cod. 243, fol. 55^{r}), where the Tree of Jesse is superimposed with an image of the Crucifixion of Christ. On this manuscript see the article in this volume by Susanne Wittekind, 'Visualizing Salvation: The Role of Arboreal Imagery in the *Speculum humanae salvationis* (Kremsmünster, Library of the Convent, Cod. 243)', Figures 6.1 and 6.4.

[48] Of the vast bibliography on diagrams and mnemotechnical practice in the Middle Ages, only two important contributions shall be singled out for the broad range of material and ideas which they present: Evans, 'The Geometry of the Mind'; Carruthers, *The Book of Memory*, pp. 267, 328–29.

[49] Wallis, 'MS Oxford St John's College 17', pp. 213–23; Edson, *Mapping Time and Space*, pp. 66–67; see the excellent website by Faith Wallis on MS St John's 17: Wallis, *The Calendar and the Cloister*.

[50] Ghent, Rijksuniversiteit, MS 92, fol. 102^{v}; Déslisle, 'Notices sur les manuscrits du "Liber Floridus"'; *Lamberti Audomari Canonici Liber Floridus*, ed. by Derolez; Derolez, *Liber Floridus-Colloquium*. Of great interest for the allegorizing of trees in the Middle Ages is the article by Mayo, 'The Crusaders under the Palm'. The copy of the *Liber Floridus* from *c.* 1160 in Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 1 Gud. lat., fol. 68^{r} (Schadt, *Die Darstellungen der Arbores Consanguinitatis*, pp. 131–35, fig. 51) is fully digitized (see *Liber Floridus*). See also Heitzmann and Carmassi, *Der Liber floridus in Wolfenbüttel*.

[51] Derolez, *The Autograph Manuscript of the Liber Floridus*, pp. 108–14.

[52] '*Genealogia* is of course a genre of historical writing, but its first sense is *pedigree*. A table of all grades of consanguinity occurs in Isidore's *Etymologiae*, and Lambert copied it as a full-page diagram on fol. 102^{v}. On the facing (erased) page of the additional bifolio, fol. 103^{r}, he transcribed Isidore's chapters on consanguinity which precede the said table. The text part occurring on the lower half of the page Lambert later quite illogically made into the opening section of another chapter, titled *Genealogie arbor* in the Table of Contents (entry partly on erasure). In fact it is a sequel to the treatise on consanguinity and consists of stray excerpts from the same work of Isidore, illustrated with a small red genealogical tree': Derolez, *The Autograph Manuscript of the Liber Floridus*, p. 108.

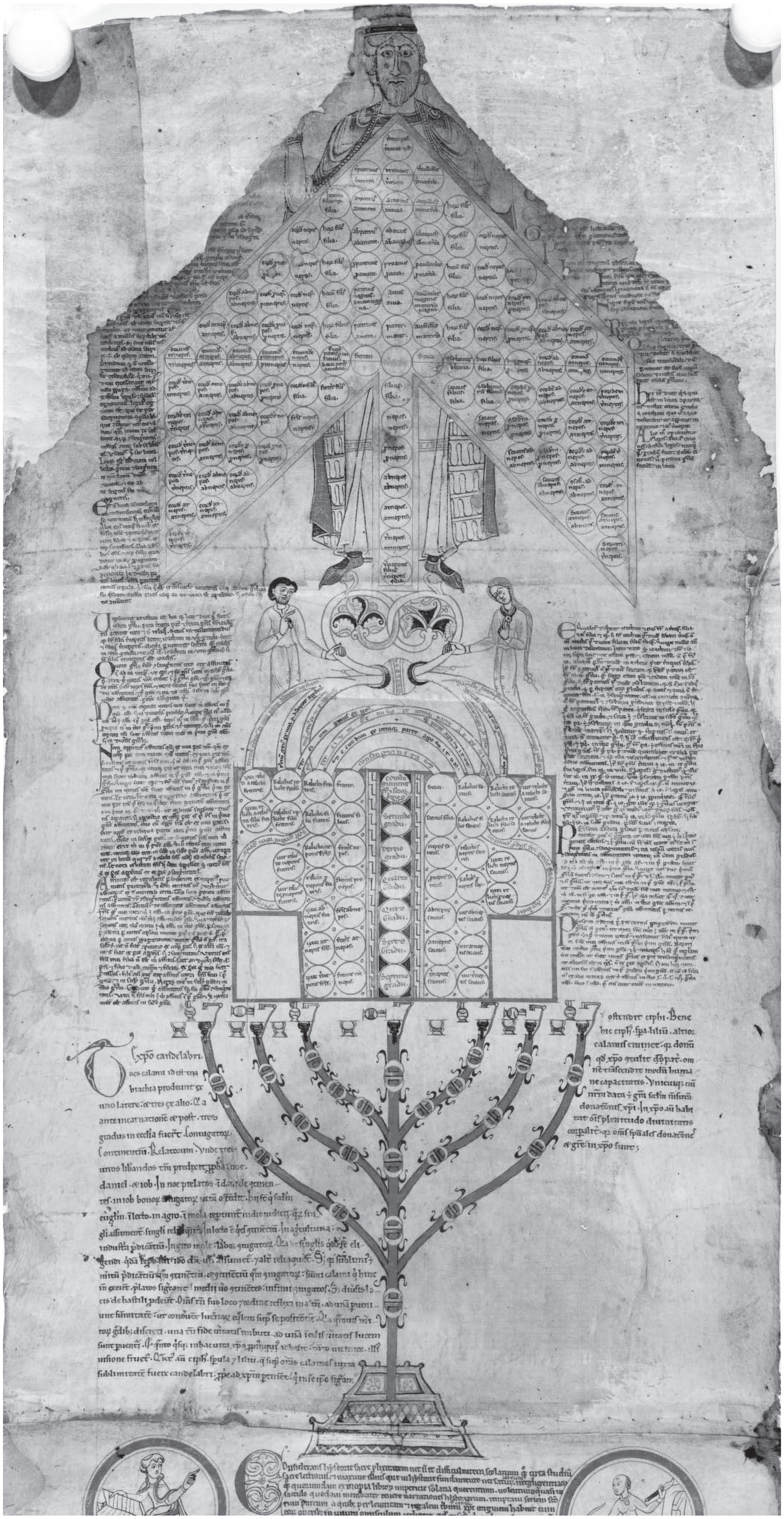

Figure 3.10.
'Trees of Consanguinity and Affinity and the allegorical Menorah', preceding Peter of Poitiers, *Compendium historiae*, Boston, Harvard University, Houghton Library, MS Typ 216 (roll). North France, late twelfth century. Photo courtesy of the Houghton Library, Harvard.

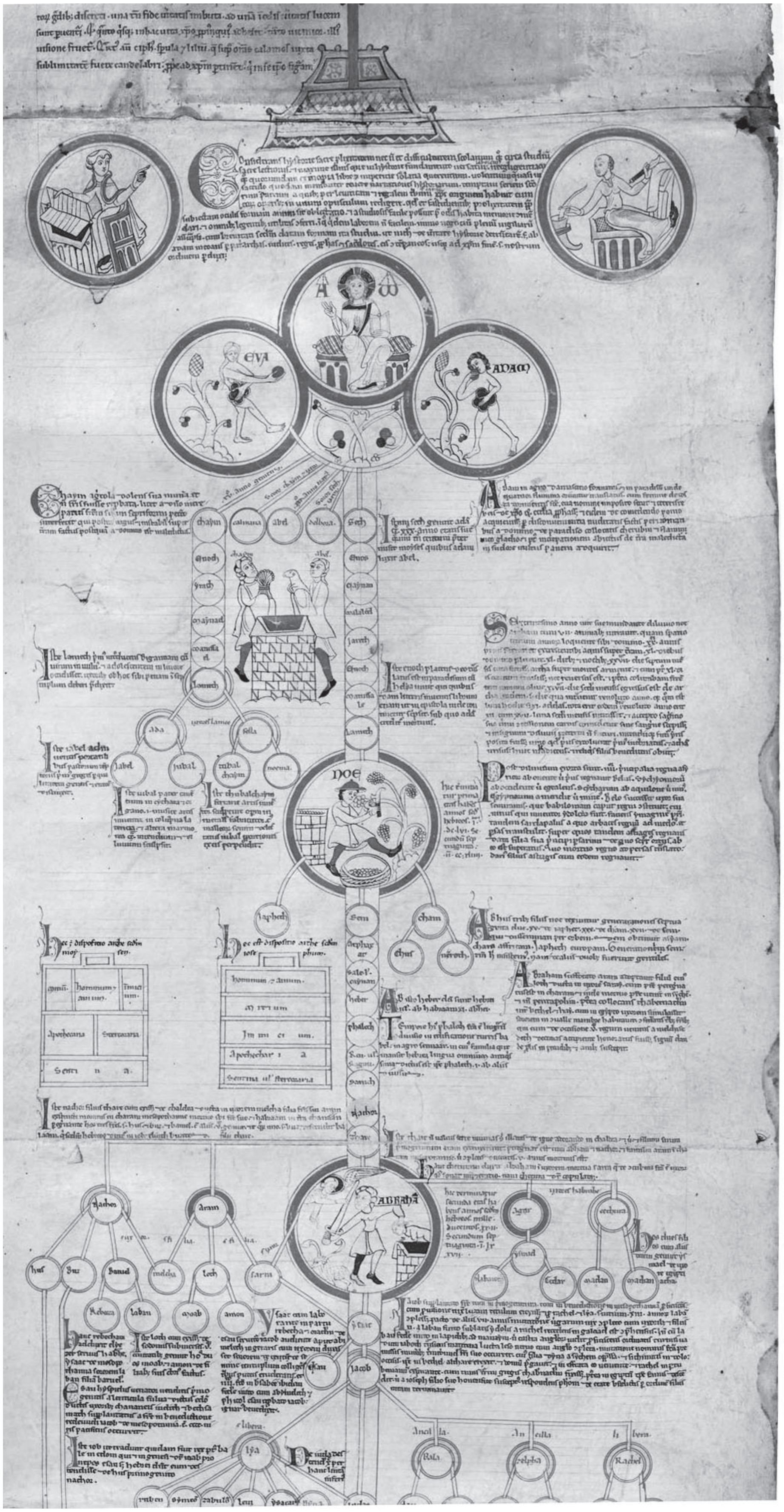

Figure 3.11.
'Prologue and ancestors of Christ during the first two ages of the world; two cross-sections of the Ark of Noah', Peter of Poitiers, *Compendium historiae*, Boston, Harvard University, Houghton Library, MS Typ 216 (roll). North France, late twelfth century. Photo courtesy of the Houghton Library, Harvard.

Arbores historiarum *in the Twelfth Century: Peter of Poitiers's* Compendium historiae

The *Compendium historiae in genealogia Christi* by Peter of Poitiers (d. 1205) was one of the most widely disseminated compilations of biblical history in the later Middle Ages and popular throughout the early modern period.[53] Largely basing himself on the information in Peter Comestor's *Historia scholastica*,[54] Peter of Poitiers designed a diagrammatic chronicle of universal history, functioning as a mnemonic device to give a synoptic overview of biblical history from the creation of the world to the time of Christ and the apostles. In contrast to the earlier genealogical stemmata, which were limited in their dissemination to the Spanish peninsula — apart from the rather isolated genealogies in the three Bible manuscripts — the *Compendium historiae* was an exceptionally successful concept. This is testified by an enormous number of surviving copies, some of which, especially in the later Middle Ages, formed part of larger compendia of universal history.[55]

There are several differences in how history is visualized in the Spanish tradition and the stemmata which follow it, on the one hand, and Peter of Poitiers's *Compendium historiae*, on the other. In contrast to the earlier stemmata in the Spanish Beatus tradition or the Parc, Floreffe, and Foigny Bibles, the diagrammatic structure of the *Compendium historiae* follows a vertical instead of a horizontal layout (Figure 3.11; see also Figure 6.9). Moreover, it does not represent both genealogies of Christ but blends them into one central axis of ancestors, which follows the line according to Luke from Adam to Abraham and then the *Liber generationis* (Matthew 1. 1–16), adding figures from the royal genealogies of the Old Testament. To this central axis every other item of historical information provided in the Bible (and in the *Historia scholastica*) is synchronized in a great overview. In comparision with the earlier stemmata, the emphasis has shifted from a synopsis that juxtaposes the two genealogies of Christ in the Gospels to a synopsis of universal history.

The *Compendium historiae* itself contains a number of diagrams that were obviously part of Peter of Poitiers's original concept, designed to clarify descriptions of complicated structures in the biblical text, for example two cross-sections of Noah's ark (Figure 3.11) or a plan of the arrangement of the tents of the Israelites on their way through the desert. But the work's overall character as a mnemonic device also attracted other schemata that were adjoined to it, such as Trees of Consanguinity and Affinity and the allegorical Menorah (Figure 3.10).[56] The compilers arranged such visual material in order to reveal something about the nature of universal and human history. Genealogical schemata like the Tree of Consanguinity and the Tree of Affinity were obviously regarded as a suitable supplement to genealogical history, as for example, the fourteenth-century *Speculum humanae salvationis* in the library of the Kremsmünster convent shows, which contains as a diagrammatic appendix a *Compendium historiae*, a Tree of Consanguinity (in distinctly arboreal form), and a Tree of Affinity.[57]

Trees of Consanguinity were regarded a suitable supplement to historical works, not just as a representation of family relationships but also as a reflection on the human dimension of time. Time and history are abstract concepts which could — and can — only be conceived once they are translated into categories man can comprehend like the Ages of Man (the individual experience of being born, living, aging, and perishing), the relationships in a family tree, but also universal history from the beginning of the world to its end as an uninterrupted chain of human generations. In the context of the *Compendium historiae*, the Tree of Consanguinity must have seemed particularly attractive, because this synopsis explicitly follows and graphically emphasizes the division of universal history into the Six Ages of the World with enlarged medallions on the *linea Christi* (Figure 3.11), which are also represented allegorically in the degrees of consanguinity in the *arbores consanguinitatis*.

Diagrams like Peter of Poitiers's *Compendium historiae* bear little resemblance to trees to a modern viewer.

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[53] Moore, *The Works of Peter of Poitiers*, pp. 96–117; Stegmüller, *Repertorium Biblicum Medii Aevi*, IV (1954), 362–65; Monroe, 'A Roll-Manuscript of Peter of Poitiers' Compendium'; Panayotova, 'Peter of Poitiers' Compendium'; Fingernagel, '"De fructibus carnis et spiritus"', figs on pp. 409–12; Worm, 'Visualising the Order of History'.

[54] As I have shown elsewhere: Worm, '"Ista est Ierusalem"'; and Worm, 'Visualising the Order of History'.

[55] On the numerous late medieval genealogical chronicles that follow the concept of the *Compendium historiae*, see the article in this volume by Norbye, '*Arbor genealogiae*'.

[56] Harvard, Houghton Lib., MS Typ 216; Monroe, 'A Roll-Manuscript of Peter of Poitiers' Compendium', pp. 95–96; the manuscript is fully digitized: Peter of Poitiers, *Compendium historiae in genealogia Christi: manuscript*. On the Candelabrum, see Cahn, 'The Allegorical Menorah', p. 118.

[57] Kremsmünster, Library of the Convent, Cod. 243, fol. 61^{v}; Neumüller, *Speculum humanae salvationis*; see the article in this volume by Wittekind, 'Visualizing Salvation'.

However, Alberic de Troisfontains (d. after 1252) confirms that Peter of Poitiers's contemporaries actually referred to them as 'arbores historiarum'.[58]

The Trees in Joachim of Fiore's Liber figurarum

Just like his contemporary Peter of Poitiers, Joachim of Fiore (d. 1202) used visual means to clarify his speculative ideas on history, human salvation, and eschatology. In his *Liber figurarum*, he conceived a series of diagrams, among them a number of arboreal schemata, which combine the image of the tree and the sequence of generations into one visual concept of great aesthetic appeal.[59] There are obvious similarities between his use of arboreal schemata and earlier diagrams but also quite marked differences. Like Peter of Poitiers's *Compendium historiae*, Joachim's trees are based on the succession of generations, which are written onto the trunk. However, Joachim arranges the protagonists of biblical history starting from the root so that in the *Liber figurarum* the direction of reading and perceiving the structure — upwards — corresponds to the growing of the tree from root to crown.[60] The most 'tree-like' among Joachim's diagrams are the 'Tree of the Holy Spirit' (Figure 3.12) and the 'Tree of the Two Advents of Christ' (Figure 3.13), which face each other in the manuscripts.[61] In both of them, human history is conceived as a great tree with Adam as the 'primus homo' (first man) at its root, from whom all mankind stems, representing the generations of humanity in ascending order to the final and last stage of history, which will be, according to Joachim's theory, the 'Age of the Holy Spirit'. Both trees are mainly characterized by two sets of twelve branches. Ten of these branches emerge on both sides of the trunk; the other two run parallel to the stem and branch off later. The twelve lower branches represent the twelve sons of Jacob and thus the twelve Jewish tribes of the Old Testament. They are paralleled in the upper part of the tree to the twelve churches that were established with the first coming of Christ (the five patriarchates of Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem and the seven churches, 'septem ecclesiis', addressed by John in Apocalypse 1. 10, namely Ephesos, Smyrna, Pergamon, Thyatira, Sardis, Philadelphia, and Laodicea). The trunk and the line of generations inscribed on it visualize Joachim's concept of the three successive stages of history. The first one, the Age of the Father (the time of the Old Testament) lasts from Adam to Christ. Both Jacob and Ozias are emphasized: Jacob, because he is the father of the Israelites; Ozias, because he appears in the position midway between Abraham and Christ in the forty-two generations listed in the *Liber generationis*.[62] The second age starts with the first coming of Christ. The Church is inaugurated, and from here on in the generations on the stem are only marked with 'xxx' indicating their thirty-year duration.

The top of the tree marks the beginning of the third age, the Age of the Holy Spirit; here lies the main difference between the two trees. At the top of the 'Tree of the Holy Spirit' (Figure 3.12) a medallion inscribed 'Spiritus Sanctus' announces the beginning of the Age of the Holy Spirit, while at the 'Tree of the Two Advents of Christ', the Parousia is indicated by a bust of Christ appearing at the treetop. Immediately below Christ's image, the name 'Elias propheta' is written, since Christ's Second Coming was commonly believed to begin with the reappearance of the Prophet Elijah, whom exegesis identified with one of the two witnesses mentioned in Apocalypse (11. 13–14). Inscriptions on both sides of the trunk mark off Joachim's historical stages. The First Coming of Christ is indicated on the Tree of the Holy Spirit by the inscription 'finis primi status' (the end of the first stage), while the Tree of the Two Advents announces the end of the Old Testament and, with it, the 'primus adventus Domini'. While the first tree is crowned with the words

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[58] Alberic de Troisfontains referred to Peter of Poitiers and his *Compendium historiae* as follows: 'Obiit Petrus Pictaviensis [...] qui pauperibus clericis consulens excogitavit arbores historiarum Veteris et Novi Testamenti in pellibus depingere': 'Chronica Albrici Monachi Trium Fontium', ed. by Scheffer-Boichorst, p. 886 ('Peter of Poitiers died [...] who, for the sake of poor clerics, had the idea to paint trees of the histories of the Old and New Testament on skins').

[59] For a more detailed analysis, see Grundmann, *Studien über Joachim von Fiore*; Reeves and Hirsch-Reich, *The Figurae of Joachim of Fiore*; Gil, 'Zeitkonstruktion als Kampf- und Protestmittel'; Patschovsky, *Die Bildwelt der Diagramme Joachims von Fiore*; Rainini, *Disegni dei tempi*; Rainini, 'Gli alberi di Giocchino da Fiore'.

[60] Klapisch-Zuber, 'The Genesis of the Family Tree'. On the problem of the 'direction of growth' in tree diagrams, see the subsequent articles in this volume by Norbye, '*Arbor genealogiae*' and Annemieke Verboon, 'The Medieval Tree of Porphyry: The Logic, Organic, and Diagrammatic Structure'.

[61] On Joachim's arboreal schemata, see Reeves and Hirsch-Reich, *The Figurae of Joachim of Fiore*, pp. 153–83, especially on the 'Tree of the Holy Spirit' and the 'Tree of the Two Advents': pp. 153–59, pls 12, 13; Rainini, *Disegni dei tempi*, pp. 37–66.

[62] Abraham is not highlighted; his name appears below the medallion with Jacob's name on the trunk in the Tree of the Holy Spirit, or below his image in the Tree of the Two Advents; the list reads Abraham, Isaac, Jacob.

'Spiritus sanctus', the second one states the 'Secundus adventus Christi. Finis Novi Testamenti'.

It is remarkable that the Tree of the Holy Spirit is much more rigid in its structure with stiff, diagrammatic branches, while the Tree of the Second Advent is more 'arboreal', less diagrammatic, and thus reminding much more of representations of the Tree of Jesse with their floral and leafy appearance, and with Christ as the 'flos' (flower) on top (see Figure 10.7).[63] This may well point to its exegetical and prophetic nature. It is not possible to discuss the content of Joachim's trees exhaustively in this context. But what they demonstrate, in comparison with, for example, Peter of Poitiers's 'arbores historiarum', is their prophetic, prospective nature. The trees in the *Liber figurarum* reflect not only the human dimension of time in the succession of generations. The growth of the thriving tree is a most appropriate visual metaphor for the progression of time and for Joachim's positive eschatology of renewal.

Conclusion

Hugh of Saint-Victor defined a symbol as 'a collocation, that is, a joining together (*coaptatio*) of visible forms brought forth to demonstrate an invisible matter'.[64] The invisible matter — sequence of generations, time, and history — could hardly be expressed in a more suitable way than through the image of the tree, which is particularly suggestive when it comes to the representation of family relationships.

The different forms of 'arborization' testify to the great interest in systematizing and visualizing genealogical and historical knowledge in the twelfth century. The stemmata in the three Bible manuscripts of Parc, Floreffe, and Foigny — like their predecessors in the Spanish tradition — provide a comparative view of Christ's two genealogies in the Gospels. Both the visual form and the explanatory text broach the issue of the differences in the biblical accounts in an attempt to reconcile them. While these stemmata are genealogical in character, the thematic scope of Peter of Poitiers's *Compendium historiae in genealogia Christi* is biblical history. Here, the genealogies of Christ are amalgamated into one cohesive central line in order to create a leading axis of history. Arranged parallel to this 'linea Christi' are other lines presenting historical information in a great synoptic chart, whose clear visual structure reveals the underlying order and teleological nature of time and history. At almost exactly the same time as Peter of Poitiers compiled the *Compendium historiae* in Paris, the Calabrian monk Joachim of Fiore wrote his *Liber figurarum*. Both authors rely on the succession of generations to represent the history and, in Joachim's case, even the future history of mankind. Joachim, however, uses a much more pictorial language, which vividly expresses his speculative theology, with an image of history and time growing and evolving through different stages towards perfection. Viewing these different concepts together brings out clearly what they share: in using arboreal structures they all show the cohesive, ordered, and organic structure of history — a history that is formed by a succession of generations and which is comprehensible because of its human dimension.

The human dimension of history is also reflected in the frequent occurrence of Trees of Consanguinity in historical contexts as is the case with the three Bible manuscripts from Parc, Floreffe, and Foigny, but also the *Compendium historiae* or the *Liber floridus* — a phenomenon that until now has gone unnoticed. In fact, Trees of Consanguinity usually appear in works of encyclopaedic or legal character. However, it was Isidore of Seville who established the numerical analogy between the six degrees of consanguinity and the Six Ages of the World, thus adding a temporal — and inherently eschatological — dimension to a diagram representing family relationships. In the Bible manuscripts of Parc, Floreffe, and Foigny Trees of Consanguinity function as frontispieces to the stemmata representing the genealogy of Christ. Thus, they are positioned at the very beginning of salvation history and identified with the *Lignum vitae*. This textual and visual interpretation of the Tree of Consanguinity is revealing for the medieval understanding of the tree as a multilayered metaphor, and it brings to the fore once again one of the most important aspects of arboreal imagery from a Christian perspective, namely the range of its biblical associations. Interpreted as the Tree of Life, the Trees of Consanguinity represent the beginning of all history: it was the eating of the forbidden fruit, the recognition of sexuality, and with it the cycle of procreation and death, that changed the *static* concept of time in Paradise — structured only by the succession of night and day — to a *progressive* concept,

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[63] See the examples discussed by Gelin, '*Stirps Jesse in capite ecclesiae*', figs 1.1–1.10.

[64] Hugh of Saint-Victor, *Commentarium*: 'Symbolum est collatio formarum visibilium ad invisibilium demonstrationem' (col. 941); 'Supra quam diximus quid sit symbolum, collatio videlicet, id est coaptatio visibilium formarum ad demonstrationem rei invisibilis propositarum' (col. 960).

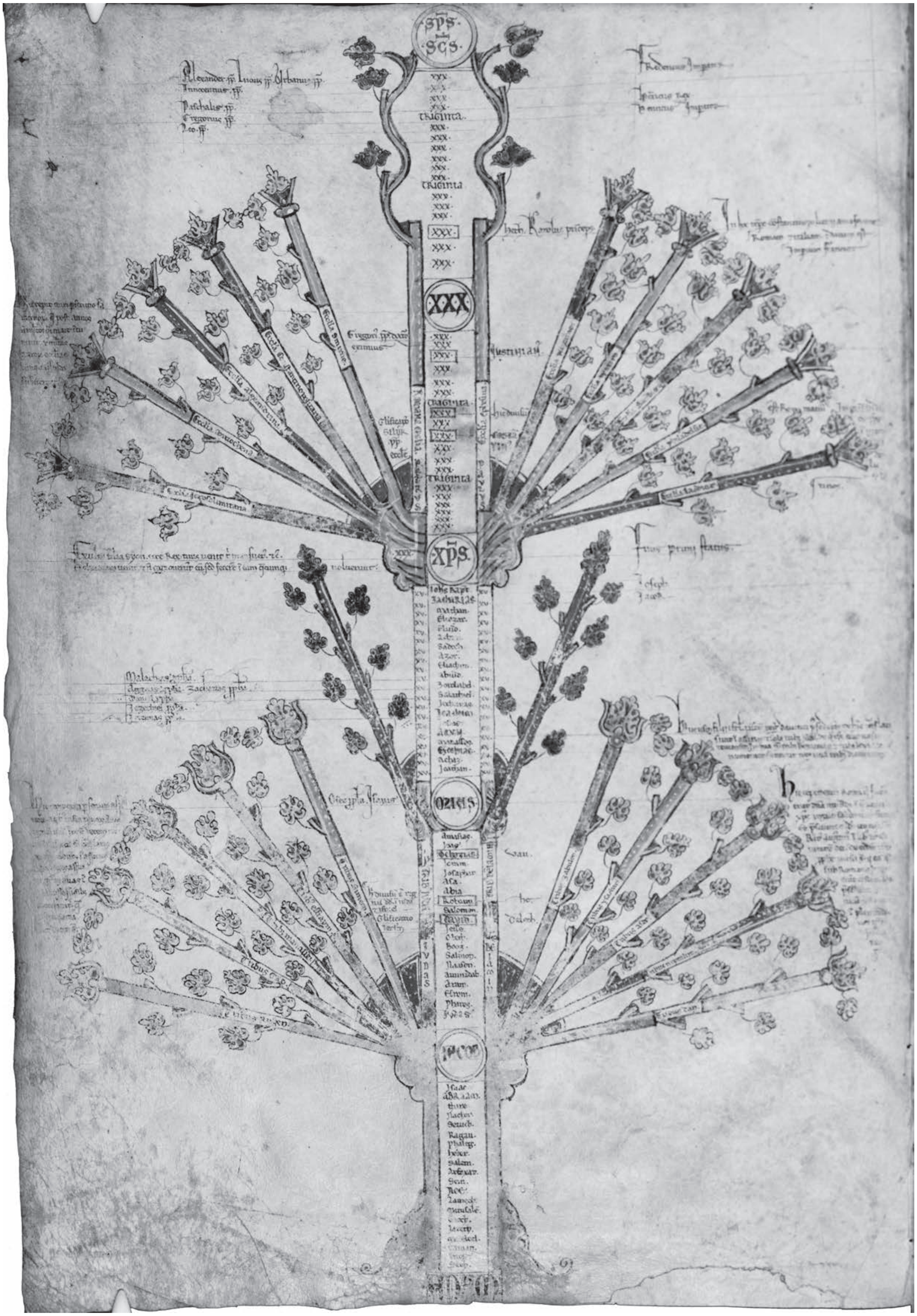

Figure 3.12. 'Tree of the Holy Spirit', Joachim of Fiore, *Liber figurarum*, Oxford, Corpus Christi College, MS 225a, fol. 9^{v}. Calabria. 1200–20. Photo courtesy of Corpus Christi College, Oxford.

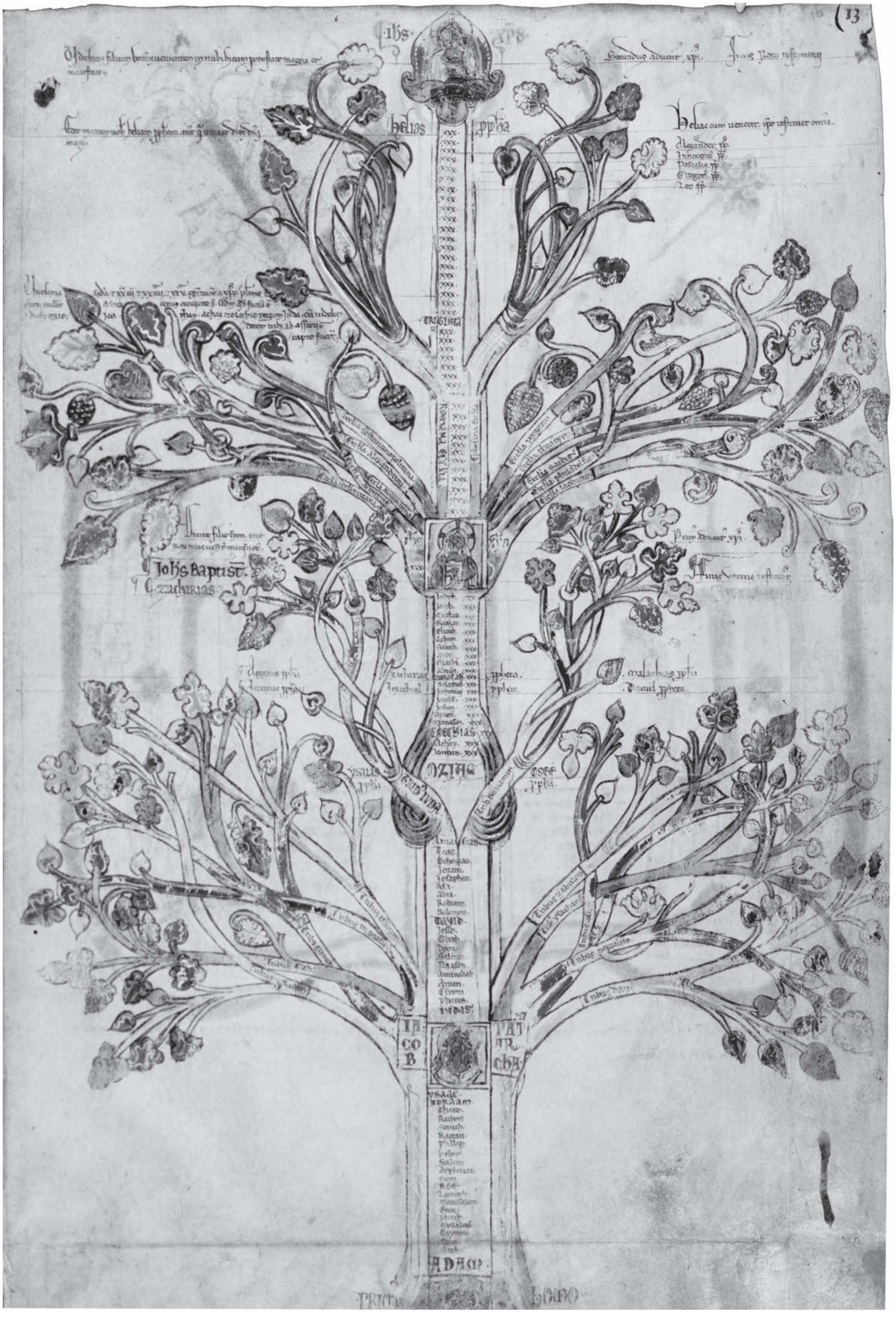

Figure 3.13. 'Tree of the Second Advent', Joachim of Fiore, *Liber figurarum*, Oxford, Corpus Christi College, MS 225a, fol. 10ʳ. Calabria. 1200–20. Photo courtesy of Corpus Christi College, Oxford.

determined by the action of man in time and countable by the years of his limited lifetime. Only at the end of time, when all human family relationships cease, will the primordial state be restored — and this is precisely what the text refering to the six degrees of consanguinity states. As a result, the visualization of time in a human dimension (the family relationships in the Tree of Consanguinity) and the progression of time in the divine plan of salvation (in the chain of generations represented in the genealogical tables that follow) complete and complement each other.

The material considered has shown how the metaphor of the tree allows both the imagination and representation of supra-individual concepts such as the family or history (understood as a series of generations) as entities. These entities are not only natural but grow, thrive, and are *alive*. It also reveals that one of the reasons why the use of the tree was manifold and can be adapted so readily to different contexts lies in its structural qualities *as well as* its iconographic notions. To the medieval mentality that perceived analogies in form and structure as pointing to analogies in content, and thus as meaningful,[65] the tree as a symbol, allegory, and structural device could stand for mankind in many different ways — or, in Hrabanus Maurus's words: 'arbor autem humanum genus significat'.

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[65] Chenu, *Nature, Man and Society in the Twelfth Century*, esp. chap. 3, 'The Symbolist Mentality', pp. 99–145.

APPENDIX

Transcript of the text adjoined to the Tree of Consanguinity, and of the first and last page of the stemma following the example of the Foigny Bible, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 15177, fols 2^{r}, 2^{v}, and 11^{r} (Figures 3.5, 3.6, and 3.7; also Plate 4). Abbreviations are tacitly expanded; names are capitalized; Latin interpunctuation is adapted to modern custom to facilitate reading.

[fol. 2^{r}] Tree of Consanguinity; **[left]** Hec consanguinitatis paulatim voluntur in se donec ad extremos permeat usque ad sextus gradus. His quia tunc metis cognatio deficit omnis coniugium licitum est et renovare thorum. Quod vero sexto ramo excluditur ordo sex mundi etates significare vides et status ipse hominis numero expletur eodem idcirco generis ordo nitet similis.

[right] Lucas evangelista per has generationes pervenit numerando a Christo usque ad patrem et fecit LXXVII generationes qui quasi funiculus in manu patris contexitur. Vere lignum hoc visibile est et corporale. Cibo noxio quia dominus qui omnia fecit bona aliquid malum in paradyso instituere non potuit. Sed propterea appelatus est boni et mali, quia homo per experimentum ab ipso didicit, quod esset oboediendi bonum et inoboediendi malum. Quod sic lignum scientie boni et mali transgressione precepti. Multi periti homines dixerunt mulierem fuisse lignum. Vere lignum fuit quia nobis incognitum fuit nam Adam non cognovit mulierem nisi priusquam egressus est de paradyso.

[fol. 2^{v}], Incipit genealogia domini nostri Iesu [continued fol. 3^{r}: Christi secundum carnem]

[horizontal] Adam: protoplastus homo sive terrigena

Seth: qui interpretatur resurrectio sive positio

Enos: filius Seth; homo vel vir

Cainan: filius Enos; velans ut positio

Malaleel: filius Cainan; laudans dominum

[vertical] Eva: vita sive calamitas

Abel: filius Adam; victus sive excelsus; Ecce vox sanguinis fratris tui clamat ad me de terra

Cain: filius Adam; Possessio sive aquisitio; [left margin] Cain populo Iudee sive omnium impiorum qui interpretatur possessio

Enoch: filius Cain; dedicatio; [left margin] Enoch dedicatio iste personam gerit omnium impiorum quorum in hac vita non in futuro spes est

[top right] Lucas evangelista per has generationes pervenit numerando a Christo usque ad patrem et fecit LXXVII generationes qui quasi funiculus in manu patris contexitur.

Vere lignum hoc visibile est et corporale. Cibo noxio quia dominus qui omnia fecit bona aliquid malum in paradyso instituere non potuit. Sed propterea appelatus est boni et mali quia homo per experimentum ab ipso didicit quod esset oboediendi bonum et inoboediendi malum.

Quod sic lignum scientie boni et mali transgressione precepti. Multi periti homines dixerunt mulierem fuisse lignum. Vere lignum fuit quia nobis incognitum fuit nam Adam non cognovit mulierem nisi priusquam egressus est de paradyso.

Irad: filius Enoch

Manihael: filius Irad

Matusahel: filius Manihael

Lamech: filius Matusahel

Ada: uxor Lamech

Jobel: filius Lamech; hic patet habitantium in tabernaculum

Jubal: filius Lamech; hic patet eorum quibus ostendit cytharam et psalterium

Sella: uxor Lamech

Tubalcain: filius Lamech, hic faber ferrarius psallens voce non organo [**upper left**] Hos duos filios habuit genitos Adam qui duorum populorum similitudinem habent, qui erant diversis temporibus; ad fidem venturi impari opere et dissimili caritate ante deum. Fuit autem Abel pastor ovium et Cain agricola. Abel autem sacrificium ex ovibus et earum adipe suscipitur. Ita novi testamenti fides ex innocentie gratiam deum laudans, veteris testamenti terrenis operibus anteponitur. Utique quia et si antea Iudei recta illa fecerunt in eo tunc infidelitatis rei sunt, quia Christo veniente iam tempora novi testamenti a tempore veteris testamenti non distinxerunt. Quasi obtemperando ad se convertisset peccatum si sibi hoc tribuisset confitens domino, sic adiutus indulgentie gratia ipsi peccato dominaretur. Itaque post hec occiditur Abel minor natu a fratre maiore natu. Occiditur Christus caput populi minoris natu a popolo iudeorum maiore natu. Ille in campo, iste in Calvarie loco. Interrogatur Cain a domino: Ubi est frater tuus, non ignarus, sed iudex qui puniret et nescire se dixit. Interrogantur Iudei ex divinis scripturis de Christo illi se nescire Christum respondent. Fallax Cain fallax Iudeorum negatio.

[**lower left**] Abel qui interpretatur luctus tam in possessione omnium quam in morte Christi expressit imaginem cuius vox clamat de terra. Sic arguit in scripturis sanctis vox divina Iudeos habet enim magnam vocem Christi sanguis in terra cum accepto ab omnibus gentibus respondetur. Amen. Hec est vox clara. Vox sanguinis quam sanguis vocem exprimit ex ore fidelium eodem sanguine redemptorum. Cain maledictus a terra id est ab ecclesia qui aperuit os suum. Maledictus est popoulus Iudeorum infidela terra id est ab ecclesia que aperuit os suum in obsessione peccatorum et accipere sanguinem Christi qui effusus est in remissionem peccatorum de manu persecutoris nolentes esse sub gratia et sub maledicto legis, ut essent ab ecclesia maledicti. In ipsa enim terra quam Christus portavit id est in eius carne ipsi operati sunt salutem nostram crucifigendo Christum. Cain gemens et tremens, sic Iudei sub in numeris populis Christianis timent ne occidantur carnaliter. Dicit enim deus ne occidetis eos sicut ad Cain, ut nequaquam occidatur.

[**upper centre**] Abel qui dicitur luctus, Seth resurrectio. Per nos vero homo sive vir. De quo etiam scriptum est: Iste primum cepit invocare nomen domini qui utique tres typum habent salvationis, qui in Abel passus, in Seth resurrectus, in Enos per corporem suum, quod est ecclesia cepit invocare nomen domini.

[**within the frame**] Adam annorum CXXX genuit Seth. Fiunt autem vite eius anni DCCCXXX et mortuus est. Seth dum esset annorum CV genuit Enos. Fiunt autem omnes anni eius DCCCXII et mortuus est. Enos dum esset LXXXX annorum genuit Cainan. Fiunt autem omnes anni vite sue DCCCV et mortuus est. Cainan cum esset LXX annorum genuit Malalehel. Fiunt autem omnes dies eius DCCCCX anni et mortuus est.

[**upper right**] Lucas evangelista per has generationes pervenit numerando a Christo usque ad patrem et fecit LXXVII generationes qui quasi funiculus in manu patris contexitur.

Omnipotens deus summus et summe bonitatis, creator omnium creaturarum bonorum, adiutor et remunerator malorum autem relictorum id est dampnatorum vererorumque ordinator, cur non crearet quos peccatores esse proscrivit, quando quidem in eis et ex eius et apud eos culpa mereretur et quod gratia sua donare posset ostendere nec sub illo creatore ac dispensatore perversa inordinatio delinquentium rectum pervertet ordinem rerum proinde peccatores et angeli et homines nil agunt quo inpediantur. Magna opera domini exquisita in omnis voluntates eius quam qui providentur atque omnipotentis sua unicuique distribuit non solum bonis verum etiam malum uti bene novitur. Ac per hoc populum meritum prime male voluntatis ita dampnato atque obdurato angelo malo ut iam ulterior voluntatem bonam non haberet. Bene utens deus cur non permitteret, ut ab illo primus homo qui rectus id est bone voluntatis creatus fuerat temptaretur. Quando quidem sic erat institutus ut fidem dei fideret adiutorio bonus malum vinceret. Si adiutorem atque creatorem suum deum superbe sibi placendo defereret vinceretur. Meritum habens bonum in adiuta diviniatis voluntate recta malum vero indeferendo deum voluntate provisa. Quis enim audeat credere aut dicere, ut neque homo neque angelus caderet in dei potestate non fuisse. Si hoc eorum potestati maluit non auferre atque ita et quantum mali eorum superbiam et quantum boni sui gratia valeret ostendere. Fecerunt itaque civitates duas amores duo terrenam scit amor sui usque ad contemptum dei. Celestem vero amorem dei usque ad contemptum sui. Denique illa insemet ipsa. Hec in domino gloriatur. Illa ab hominibus gloriam querit, huic autem deus testis conscientie maxima est gloria. Illa ingloria exaltat caput suum, hec autem dicit domino gloria mea et exaltans caput meum. Illa in virtutibus suis vel in eis quas subiugat nationibus dominatu livido dominatur in hac autem servunt invicem in caritate et propositi consulendo et subditi obediendo. Illa in potentatibus diligit vanitatem suam hec deo suo dicit. Diligam te, domine, virtus mea. Ideoque illa insipientes eius secundum hominem viventes aut carnis aut animi sui sectari sunt voluntatem aut qui deum potueret cognoscere non ut deum honoraretur. Emaneret in cogitationibus suis obscuratum est insipiens cor eorum. Divites esse voluntates stulti facti sunt idem dampnante se superbia in sua sapientia facti sunt stulti et mutaveret gloriam incorruptibilis dei in similitudines volucrum quadrupedum et serpentium ab huiuscemodi hominum ab usque ut gratias egerunt. Evanescentes in sapientia extollentes stultitionem imaginis corruptibilis hominis simulachra adoranda vel duces populorum vel sectatorum eorum fuerit coluerit atque serviret creaturem magis quam creatori qui est benedictus in secula. In hac autem nulla hominis sapientia, si sola pietas qua recte creditur verus deus ita expectans premium in societate sanctorum non solum hominum verum etiam angelorum ut sit deus omnia in onmnibus.

[**lower middle**] Aitque Lamech uxoribus suis: Audite verba mea, quia occidi virum in vulnus meum septies vincicabitur de Cain de Lamech autem septuagies septies. Ita secundum hystoriam dictum est ab Adam usque ad Christum generationes LXXVII in quibus peccatum Lamech id est totius mundi sanguinis Christi effusione, solutus est. Siquidem in populo Iudeorum propter interfectionem Christi septuaginta VII vindicte sunt instaurate. Sicut in evangelio dominus ait Petro: Non dico tibi septies et usque septuagies septies. Se penituerit frater tuus remittitur id est Iudeum populum reum penitentem post LXXVII vindictas statutas recipiendum ad indulgentiam Christi. Sicut posuit dominus Cain in signum ut non occideret eum omnis qui invenisset eum. Hoc revera mirabile est quemadmodum omnes gentes, qui a romanis subiugate sunt in ritum romanorum sacrorum transierunt eaque sacrilegia observanda et celebranda susceperunt. Gens autem Iudeorum sive sub paganis regibus sive sub Christianis non amisit signum legis id est circumcisionis, et omnis imperator vel rex qui eos in regno suo invenit sic eos tenuit non occidit. Exiit quod a facie domini et habitavit in terra nabit quod interpretatur commotio sive instabilis et fluctuans. Sic nimirum Iudei, qui diversis erroribus consumates sunt resistendo veritati exeunt a facie domini, id est a misericordia dilectionis eius vel participatione lucis eius et habitant profugi in terra.

[**fol. 11^r**] Sicut Lucas evangelista per Nathan ad Mariam virginem ducit ita et matheus evangelista per Salomonem ad Ioseph originem demonstrat, id est ex tribu Iuda, ut appareat eos de una tribu exire et sic ad Christum secundum carnem pervenire, ut compleatur, quod scriptum est: Ecce vicit leo de tribu Iuda radix David, leo ex Salomone, radix ex Nathan. Ut clarius fiat quod dicitur, ipsas generationum consequentias enarravimus a David. Generatio per Salomonem quam dinumerat Matheus tercium a fine facit Mathan, qui dicitur genuisse Iacob patrem Ioseph. Per Nathan vero Lucas generationum ordinem texens tercium nichilominus eiusdem loci factus Melchi. Nobis imminet ostendendere quomodo Ioseph dicitur secundum Matheum quidem patrem habuisse Iacob qui inde ducitur per Salomonem secundum Lucam vero Heli qui ducitur per Nathan. Atque ipsi sunt Heli et Iacob, qui erant duo fratres habentes alius quidem Mathan alius quidem Melchi patrem. Ex diviso genere venientes etiam ipsi Ioseph avi esse videantur. Est ergo modus Mathan et Melchi de una eademque uxore ista nomine diversis temporibus singulos filios procrearunt. Quia Mathan qui per Salomonem descendit, uxorem eam primus acceperat et relicto uno filio Iacob nomine defunctus est. Post cuius obitum Melchi, qui per Nathan genus ducit, cum esset ex eadem tribu, ex eadem tribu relictam Mathan accepit uxorem. Ex qua et ipsa suscepit filium nomine Heli. Per quod ex diverso patrum genere efficiuntur Iacob et Heli uterini fratres, quorum alter, id est Iacob, fratris Heli sine liberis defunti uxorem ex mandato legis accipiens genuit Ioseph. Natura quidem germinis suum filium propter quod scribitur: Iacob autem genuit Ioseph. Secundum legis vero perceptum Heli efficitur filius, cuius Iacob, qui erat filius Mathan, uxorem et suscitandum fratris semen acceperat. Et pro hoc rata invenitur atque integra generatio et tamquam Matheus enumerat et tamquam Lucas competenti ratione designat.

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Arbor genealogiae: Manifestations of the Tree in French Royal Genealogies

Marigold Anne Norbye

The physical structure of a tree, from its roots to its branches and new shoots, lends itself particularly well to echoing symbolically the functioning of human kinship networks, where one ancestor over several generations leads to increasingly many branches of descendants. This article explores how both the physical elements and the inherent symbolism of the tree were used to represent the origins and growth of human families and dynasties. The appropriation of arboreal characteristics to picture successive generations of humans led to the development of genealogical trees as a mode of representation.

I shall focus on the specific case study of the genealogical diagrams used in medieval France to depict the royal dynasties that ruled the kingdom. These genealogies go beyond the function of a simple diagrammatic account of successive generations of a family because of the essential political role of the persons concerned: the history of the royal family was closely linked to the history of France itself. Indeed, many histories of France were centred on the reigns of kings; royal genealogy provided a 'perceptual grid' for the narrative framework.[1] Conversely, genealogical diagrams of royal families, often accompanied by brief narratives, could serve as potted histories of France. It is clear that the diagrams and the texts that accompany them were conceived together. This is a fact that has all too often been ignored by historians and by editors of chronicles, who have dismissed diagrams as mere illustrations. As a historian, I would argue that such visual aids had an impact on their viewers' perception of history.

The genealogical diagrams often prove to be more than simple figures illustrating family relationships; they contain messages, overt or not, on vital political issues such as the legitimacy of individual kings or the justification for changes of dynasties.[2] Such messages could be brought out in the diagrams in a way that was not always possible, or politically expedient, in narrative text. The construction and layout of a genealogical tree, the inclusion or exclusion of persons in its branches, and the labels attached to them, all contributed to the formulation of opinions and ideologies regarding past political events, individual rulers, the nature of kingship, laws of succession, and the respective merits of rival claimants to the throne. Such questions were not just of theoretical or historical interest: during the Hundred Years War in particular, they affected the events of the day, when two rival dynasties were literally fighting for the crown of France on a question of succession rights.

I will discuss in detail how the authors of some of these diagrams used the visual and graphic elements of their genealogical trees to convey their political messages, focusing on a couple of contentious issues in French royal history. I will also briefly consider how in the later Middle Ages, the depiction of the attributes of a vegetal tree, in either stylized or realistic form, had an impact on the physical appearance of genealogical trees.[3]

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[1] Spiegel, 'Genealogy', p. 105.

[2] The complex messages of genealogical trees are explored by Melville, 'Geschichte in graphischer Gestalt', and Melville, 'Vorfahren und Vorgänger'.

[3] See also an article which complements this one: Norbye, 'Genealogies in Medieval France', which discusses some of the same genealogies and issues but focuses primarily on the role and place of

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The Emergence of Genealogical 'Trees'

The adoption of tree-like diagrams to represent kinship groups, from the original ancestor(s) along the generations until the latest 'branches' of the family, was a gradual process that took place in the Middle Ages.[4] Certain basic elements already existed in Antiquity: series of images of Roman patricians' ancestors linked together by lines, making up *stemmata*; tabular representations of degrees of kinship for legal purposes; the use of circle-and-line diagrams to aid understanding of texts; 'peopled scrolls' where vegetal elements such as acanthus leaves were inhabited by creatures and humans. In the Middle Ages, starting with the Carolingian intellectual renewal, diagrams increasingly appeared in scientific works between the ninth and twelfth centuries, and the eleventh century saw the initial stirrings of 'visual exegesis' where images were used to convey and combine concepts to produce higher levels of signification. The term *arbor iuris* (tree of law) had appeared already in the ninth century to describe kinship diagrams that had no physical resemblance to vegetal trees; and from the tenth century, *arbor* was a term generally used for kinship figures, despite the fact that, more often than not, non-arboreal images were used in the iconography of these figures (e.g. architectural elements) so that one cannot assert that the term came from a putative use of vegetal imagery.[5] The genealogical stemmata representing connections between biblical persons that emerged later follow different models. The origins of diagrammatic representations of genealogies themselves remain obscure. In tenth-century Spain, circle-and-line schemas of biblical genealogies appeared in certain manuscripts of the Bible and in manuscripts of Beatus of Liébana's Commentary to the Apocalypse, but the graphical sources and archetype for these diagrams have not yet been identified; they might even hark back to late Antiquity, but the evidence is missing.[6] A new type of graphical representation of biblical genealogies was to appear around 1200, initiated by Peter of Poitiers, of whom more below.

In the meantime, in the early Middle Ages, certain Germanic peoples were starting to put in writing long lists of the ancestors of their rulers, if necessary filling any gaps with imaginary characters, and often crediting their rulers with divine ancestry, whether from pagan or biblical sources.[7] These increasingly mythical pedigrees served important political and social ends, justifying or bolstering the status of the rulers: from the start, royal genealogies were more than simply records of members of a ruling family. Early English royal pedigrees took the form of lists, or eventually tables; the latter were organized in descending order from the ancestor, whereas lists could also be in ascending order, some times all the way up to Adam.[8]

The use of link lines between names, which differentiates a genealogical 'tree' from a simple list or table, started appearing on the Continent in the late tenth century and increased considerably in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries; the centres that developed the new 'language' of genealogy were monastic, where monks endeavoured to keep alive the *memoria* of their various past benefactors.[9] The aim of this commemoration would ostensibly have been liturgical — to pray for the souls of the benefactors — but there was often a political agenda as well.[10] It also had historiographical implications, as lists of benefactors and their relatives could be building blocks for chronicles and genealogies as well. In terms of physical layout, some lists became tables, and tables became diagrams.

And thus it was that in the second half of the eleventh century, monks at the monastery of Saint-Aubin drew some rough genealogical diagrams of the local rul-

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diagrams in the context of textual genealogical chronicles. The factual information is summarized in Norbye, 'Genealogical Chronicles in French and Latin'. An article in German focusing on the political issues reflected in the diagrams contains some images not found here: Norbye, 'Iste non ponitur in recta linea arboris genealogie'.

[4] This development has been masterfully described by Klapisch-Zuber, *L'Ombre des ancêtres*; see also Klapisch-Zuber, 'The Genesis of the Family Tree' and Klapisch-Zuber, *L'Arbre des familles*: this book, aimed at a wider audience, has full-page colour plates.

[5] Still fundamental is Schadt, *Die Darstellungen der Arbores Consanguinitatis*; on Trees of Consanguinity and genealogical diagrams, see the article in this volume by Andrea Worm, '*Arbor humanum genus significat*: Trees of Genealogy and Sacred History in the Twelfth Century'.

[6] Załuska, 'Entre texte et image'; Williams, *The Illustrated Beatus*, I: *Introduction* (1994), 56–58, 140; see the article in this volume by Worm, '*Arbor humanum genus significat*', with ample bibliography on the Spanish genealogies in notes 26, 28–30.

[7] Klapisch-Zuber, *L'Ombre des ancêtres*, pp. 85–87; see also: Gädeke, *Zeugnisse bildlicher Darstellung*.

[8] Klapisch-Zuber, *L'Ombre des ancêtres*, pp. 87–89.

[9] Gädeke, *Zeugnisse bildlicher Darstellung* highlights that the increase in examples in Germany is closely linked to monastic institutions coming under pressure in the age of the Investiture Controversy.

[10] For example, see the *Chronicon Universale* of Frutolf of Michelsberg and Ekkehard of Aura: Klapisch-Zuber, *L'Ombre des ancêtres*, pp. 107–09 and pls 14–15.

ing family, the counts of Anjou, using the basic expedient of linking names by lines which carefully defined the relationship between the individuals.[11] Around the same time, about 1060–75, this monastery produced a genealogical diagram of the kings of France, which is used as the first example in my case study of the genealogical representations of the French royal dynasties.

The Royal Dynasties of France

At this stage, it is worth reminding the reader of a few historical facts regarding the French royal family which would have been sensitive issues during the Middle Ages. Three successive dynasties ruled in France: Merovingians, Carolingians, and Capetians. The Merovingians were overthrown in 751 by the mayor of the Palace, Pippin, son of the mayor and military hero Charles Martel, with the support of the nobility and with papal sanction. Pippin (ruled 751–68) was the father of the mighty Charlemagne (768–814), whose gave his name to the new Carolingian dynasty.

In the time of the later Carolingian rulers, dynastic instability returned. Louis II (877–79) died leaving two elder sons, whom some considered illegitimate as their parents' marriage had been annulled, and a pregnant second wife who gave birth to the posthumous heir Charles III (better known as Charles the Simple; lived 879–929, ruled 898–923). During this infant's childhood, the kingdom was first governed jointly by his half-brothers Louis III (879–82) and Carloman (879–84); there would be a debate as to whether they were fully kings of France.[12] They both died young, and a Carolingian cousin, Emperor Charles the Fat (884–87), took over. At his death, Charles III was still a child, so the nobles elected as king Eudes (888–98) son of the powerful lord Robert 'the Strong' (hence his dynasty being called 'Robertian'). When Eudes died, Charles at last fully took over the rule of his kingdom. However, he came into conflict with Eudes's brother Robert; Robert I (922–23) was crowned king when the fortunes of war were in his favour, but he was killed in battle within a year. Robert's son-in-law Raoul (923–36) was made king whilst Charles was taken prisoner and died in captivity. Meanwhile, Charles's wife had taken their infant son into exile. At Raoul's death, Robert I's son Hugues 'the Great' chose to support Charles the Simple's son Louis IV (936–54). The throne passed to Louis's son and eventually his grandson who died childless in 987. By right of family inheritance, the crown could have gone to his uncle. However, Hugues Capet (987–96), the son of Hugues the Great, seized the throne and founded a new dynasty, known as the Capetians.[13]

These events had implications for the writing of French history and in particular for the composition of lists of kings or genealogical trees: what was the status of those who ruled during the infancy of Charles the Simple and his son Louis IV? Did his 'illegitimate' elder half-brothers count as kings? Was the Robertian Eudes, who governed while Charles was still underage, a regent or a king? Was Eudes's brother Robert I a mere usurper? What about Raoul? As for Hugues Capet, he founded a successful dynasty by military might and diplomatic success, but was that enough to make him a legitimate king?

The takeover from the Merovingians by the Carolingians was generally considered acceptable, although the Carolingians did eventually invent a blood link between the Merovingians and themselves, via a mythical ancestress called Blitildis.[14] The story was taken up in the thirteenth-century *Grandes Chroniques de France* written at the abbey of Saint-Denis close to royal circles, which became the 'official' history of France.[15] These chronicles were structured around the three dynasties, and the authors were keen to show that despite the rupture of dynastic change, the bloodline of the royal house had been uninterrupted.

The usurpation by Hugues Capet was a much more controversial affair both in its time and later, so a Carolingian link was all the more important to establish. As it happened, Hugues Capet and his successors all transmitted Carolingian blood through their wives, but in the *Grandes Chroniques de France*, one particular link was stressed: the marriage of Philippe II Auguste (1180–1223) to Isabelle de Hainaut who had Carolingian ascendance. The result was a 'return' of the crown to the dynasty of Charlemagne, through their son Louis VIII, called the *reditus regni ad stirpem Karoli Magni*, which 'fulfilled' a prophecy that this return would take place after seven generations.[16] However, some medieval historians used other genealogical information to 'prove' a continuity of blood between Carolingians and Capetians, whereas others denied any links at all, as will be seen in the examples of genealogical trees examined below.

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[11] Klapisch-Zuber, *L'Ombre des ancêtres*, pp. 92–94.

[12] Zale, 'Bastards or Kings or Both?'.

[13] His grandmother, like many of the aristocracy, was descended from Charlemagne, but Hugues was not closely enough related to the main male Carolingian lines to be considered a Carolingian himself.

[14] See Brown, 'La Généalogie capétienne', p. 200.

[15] On the *Grandes Chroniques de France*, see Spiegel, *The Chronicle Tradition of Saint-Denis*, or Guenée, 'Les Grandes Chroniques de France'.

The importance of the bloodline in relation to the transmission of royal power grew ever greater in the late Middle Ages.[17] This became exacerbated by a new but related debate about the ability of women to inherit the crown or transmit any rights to the throne, in the wake of the extinction of the direct Capetian line and the claim by King Edward III of England and his successors to the kingdom of France via his royal French mother.[18] This debate too would have an impact on the construction of genealogical diagrams, in particular during the Hundred Years War and its aftermath.[19]

Early Graphical Representations of Royal Genealogies

When the monks of Saint-Aubin in Anjou made their genealogical diagrams of the kings of France in the manuscript referred to above (Figure 4.1), the Capetian dynasty had ruled for less than a century.[20] Central royal power was still weak, and the monks had no compunction about making their feelings about the Capetians and their ancestors the Robertians clear, both in the captions accompanying the diagram and in its design. The actual diagram is a very basic genealogical tree: it has the ancestor's name at the top, then simple slightly wavy red lines linking the names of the members of the subsequent generations. Some personages are only indicated by name; others have brief captions (e.g. 'filius iunior' ('younger son'), 'hic mortuus est paulo post patrem' ('died soon after his father')). The tree shows not just the kings and their heirs, but some of their younger sons, as well as some influential political figures who were not blood-related.

The three dynasties are shown on three pages, on fols 101^r–102^r. The Robertians are not placed as parallel or equal kings on the page chronologically containing the Carolingians, but are put on the next page, starting with Hugo the Abbot, the main political player before King Eudes (and possibly his relative).[21] Eudes appears next, called 'rex ad tempus' ('king for the time'), alongside a paragraph explaining that he 'administered' ('administravit') the kingdom during the infancy of Charles the Simple. However, the next Robertian king, Eudes's brother Robert I, is simply labelled as 'rex tirannicus' ('tyrannical king'). This negative appreciation of him already appears on the previous page: alongside the name of Charles the Simple, the scribe has added: 'qui et destitutus est a regno per rodbertum tirannum' ('who was deposed from his kingdom by Robert the tyrant'). Robert's successor Raoul (mistakenly called Rodbertus) is defined as the son-in-law of the tyrant, but is neutrally described as being 'made' ('factus') king of France. A paragraph alongside the name of Hugues 'the Great' ('magnus') points out that he did not allow himself to be made king ('non se passus est regem fieri'), whereas the text next to his son, the usurping Hugues Capet, says that he was made king 'per tyrannidem' ('through tyranny') together with his son Robert II.

By putting the Robertians on a separate page, the designer might have been obeying imperatives of space. However, designs in later diagrams show that it was possible to show the Robertians as a parallel line to the Carolingians; indeed the previous page of this manuscript had a parallel tree, as we shall see. It is more likely that the Robertians were relegated to the next page to stress that they were merely administrators or tyrants, and in order to have the space for the paragraphs explaining this situation. However, the author could not deny that the Capetians had successfully taken over, so the family tree duly continues from Robert II to his grandson Philippe I (1060–1108), king when the diagram was composed. But the text concerning the first two Capetians, having stated that they ruled 'utterly without talent and in name only' ('inertissime et solo nomine regnaverunt'), finishes with the scathing comment that 'we observe the same thing happening down to this day with their descendants' ('quod usque hodie itidem fieri conspicimus in illorum sobole').

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[16] The *reditus* is examined by Brown, 'La Généalogie capétienne', among others.

[17] The topic is covered by Beaune, *The Birth of an Ideology*, trans. by Huston, and Lewis, *Royal Succession in Capetian France*.

[18] See a recent discussion of this issue by Taylor, 'The Salic Law, French Queenship and the Defence of Women'.

[19] See Norbye, 'Genealogies and Dynastic Awareness in the Hundred Years War', pp. 311–16, for an example of the treatment of this matter in a genealogical chronicle with diagrams.

[20] Paris, BNF, MS lat. 4955. Klapisch-Zuber, *L'Ombre des ancêtres*, pp. 93–94, pl. 12.

[21] Christian Settipani and Patrick Van Kerrebrouck, *La Préhistoire des Capétiens 481–987* (1993), vol. I. 1 of Van Kerrebrouck, *Nouvelle histoire généalogique*, pp. 400–02.

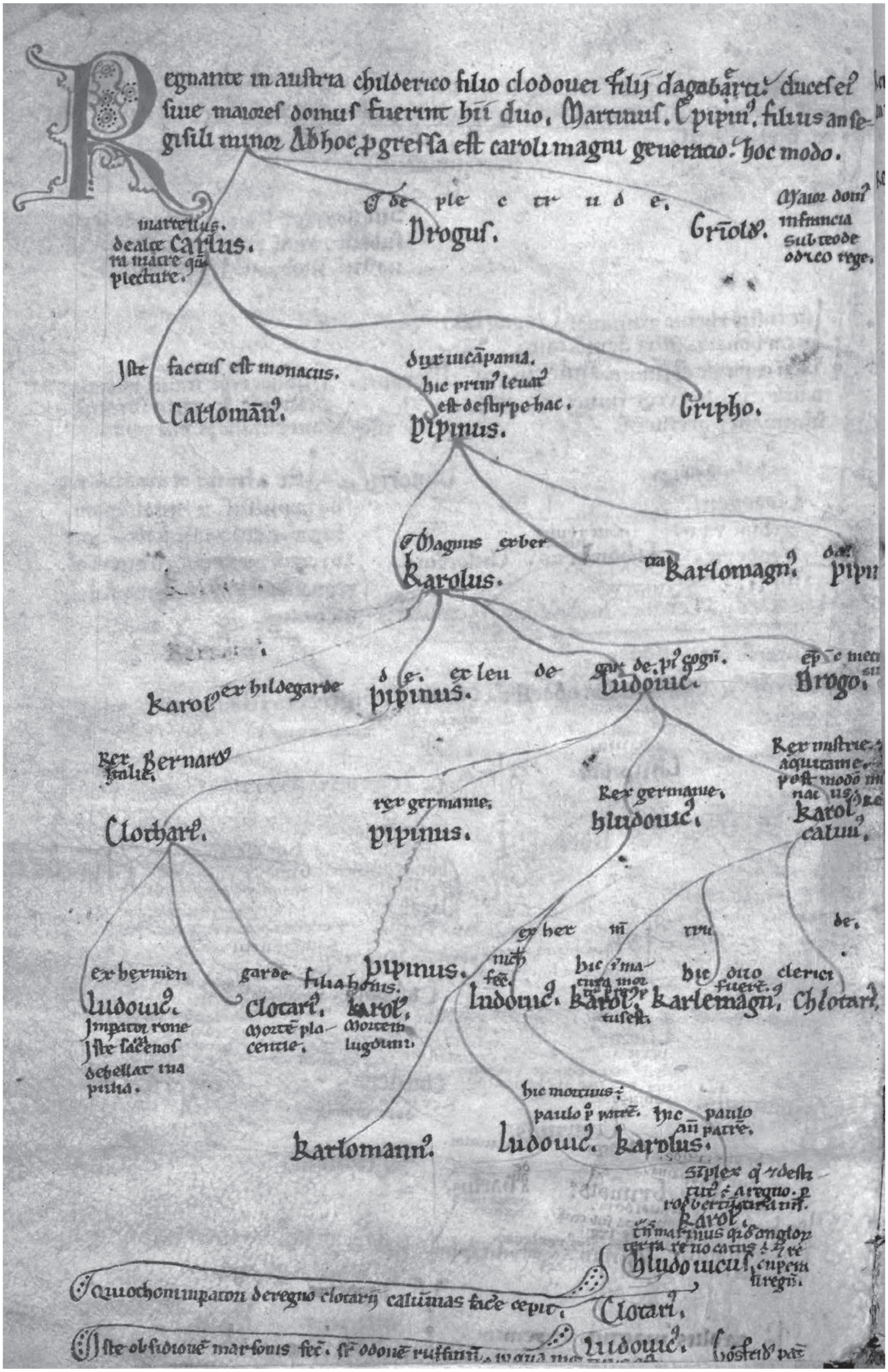
Martinus.
pipinus.
Drogus.
Grifo.
Carlus.
Carlomanus.
Pipinus.
Gripho.
Karolus.
Karlomagnus
pipinus
Karolus
pipinus.
Ludouic.
Drogo.
Rex Bernardus
Clotharius.
pipinus.
hludouic.
Karolus caluus.
ludouic.
Clotarius.
Karolus.
pipinus.
ludouic.
Karolus
Karlemagnus.
Chlotarius.
Karlomannus.
ludouic.
Karolus.
Karolus.
hludouicus
Clotarius.
ludouic.

Figure 4.1. 'Carolingian dynasty', *Annals of Saint-Aubin*, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 4955, fol. 101^{v}. 1060–75. Photo courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France.

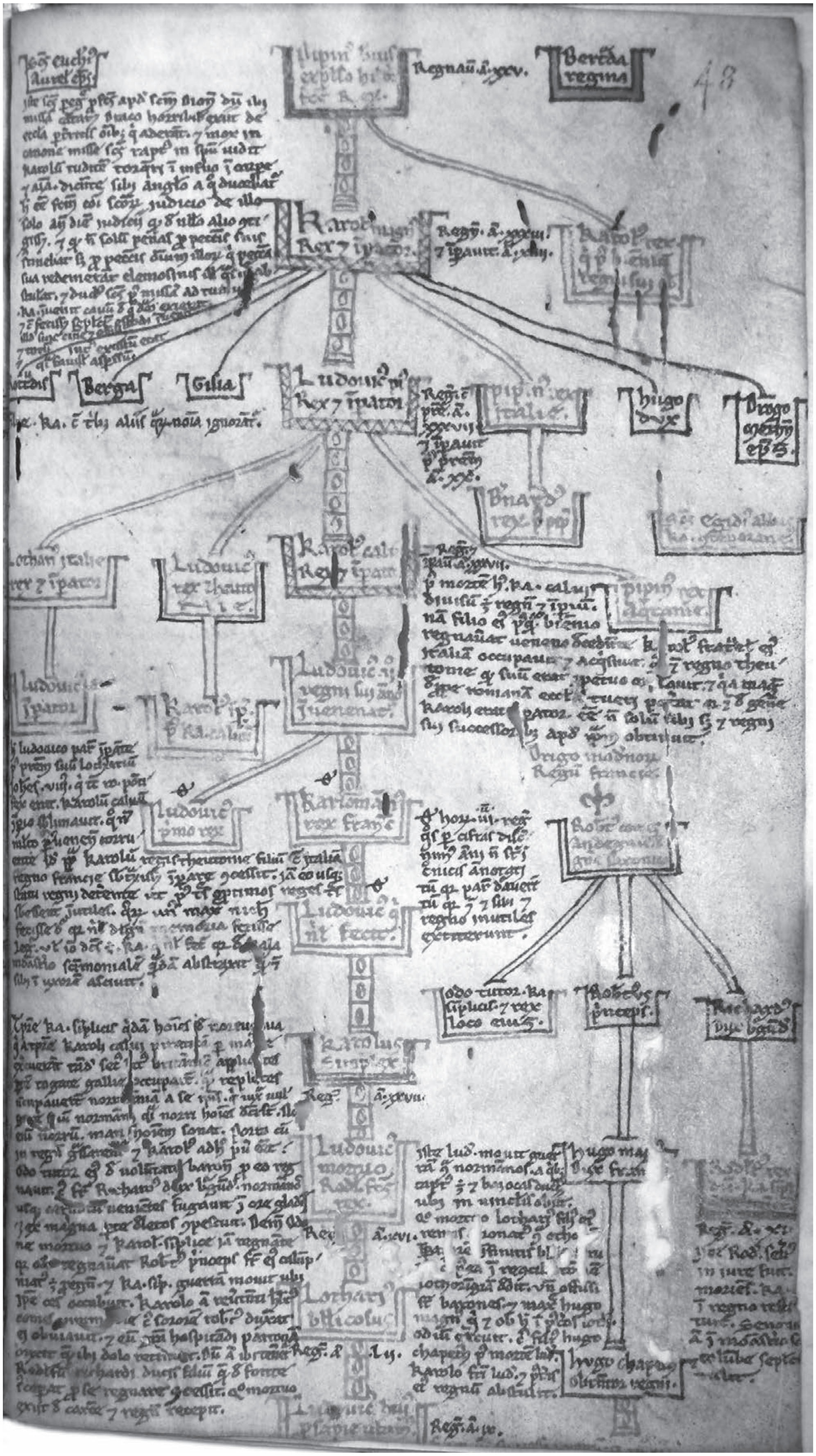

Figure 4.2. (Plate 2, p. xiv) 'Carolingian and Robertian dynasties', Gilles de Paris, *Karolinus*, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 6191, fol. 48^{r}. 1200–20. Photo courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France.

This is in contrast with the previous dynastic change, where the predecessors of the new dynasty receive a very different treatment. On the first page, covering the Merovingians, the names of the mayors of the Palace are added alongside their puppet kings, and a parallel genealogical tree appears for Pippin of Herstal, grandfather of King Pippin, encompassing four generations down to Charlemagne. On the next page, concerning the Carolingians, the introductory rubric lists two mayors of the Palace, including Pippin of Herstal, and draws Pippin's genealogical tree a second time. His grandson Pippin, the first Carolingian king, is simply described as 'the first one of his line to be elevated' ('primus levatus est de stirpe hac'). Thus the Pippinids, ancestors of the Carolingians, appear on two pages, once as parallel powers, then as the early generations of the Carolingian dynasty. The design of this tree might have been fairly unsophisticated, but its author was quite clearly able to make a political message even with his basic graphic tools.

In the Carolingian dynastic tree, it is to be noted that there is some confusion in the drawing of the lines between Charles II's generation and his successors: the controversial kings Louis III and Carloman are shown as the sons of their great-uncle. However, there is nothing to indicate any doubt about their legitimacy as kings. Indeed there is no visual or textual differentiation between those scions of the royal house who were kings of France and those who were not (the latter were only occasionally given indications of their titles, such as 'bishop' or 'king of Germany').

The next genealogical tree in our case study is altogether more sophisticated visually (Figure 4.2, also Plate 2). Produced around 1200 for the future Louis VIII (1223–26) to accompany a poem glorifying Charlemagne, the *Karolinus*, it shows considerable graphic ingenuity.[22] Its author was Gilles de Paris, and it is generally believed that he was the author of the tree as well as of the poem. The tree encompasses the French kings from Francio, the mythical ancestor of the Franks, down to Prince Louis himself, over five pages. The diagrams are fairly basic: each person's name is contained in a box, and individuals are linked by lines. In the centre of the page, a thick red decorated double vertical line represents the royal succession; single or double black lines show links between kings and secondary personages such as younger siblings. A few unrelated people are also included, mainly contemporary saints.

The most remarkable achievement of this tree is its colour coding. The linking lines distinguish between the main series of kings and the collateral branches; the colour used for each person's name and for the box that surrounds each person follows a particular code that indicates his or her status, using permutations of blue, black, and red ink. Gilles himself explains his system:

> We have indicated the kings of France in red letters to distinguish them from others. The queens their wives have lines in ink coloured red inside. We have separated out other kings or those who descended from the royal lineage but were not kings themselves by [using] single lines in ink. Moreover, those who were both kings and emperors are distinguished as having more status by a double colour: blue and red. Those who were emperors but not kings of France, we have shown in blue letters. We have displayed good (*bonos*) kings of France by red lines edged in blue.[23]

One can actually identify thirteen types of persons, categorized into eleven different colour codes. For example, the names of kings are in red, in a double-lined red box; emperors are the same, but in blue. Those who are both kings and emperors have names in blue, in a double-line blue box with red cross-hatching between the lines. 'Good' kings have blue colour inside the two lines of their red box. Side dynasties (e.g. Blitildis's descendants, younger children) are in black, in a single-lined black box, as are saints. Queens, when they appear, have names in black, in a double-lined black box with red between the lines.

The contents of the tree reveal that the author showed a blood link between the Merovingians and the Carolingians, via the mythical Blitildis (called 'Baltildis'), whereas there was no such link shown between the Carolingians and the Capetians. It has been argued that Gilles implicitly believed that the Capetian Prince Louis was part of the lineage of Charlemagne, the

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[22] Paris, BNF, MS lat. 6191, fols 46^{v}–48^{v}. Klapisch-Zuber, *L'Ombre des ancêtres*, pp. 163–66, pl. 22. Colker, 'The "Karolinus" of Egidius Parisiensis'. Lewis, 'Dynastic Structures and Capetian Throne-Right'. Brown, 'La Notion de la légitimité', pp. 81–82.

[23] Paris, BNF, MS lat. 6191, fol. 46^{v}. The translations are mine throughout. The original text reads: 'reges francorum […] litteris rubricatis damus intelligi ab aliis discernendos. Reginas uxores eorum per lineas de incausto interius rubicatas [*sic*]. Alios reges sive eos qui de regum prosapia descenderunt nec reges fuerunt per simplices lineas de incausto seponimus. Porro eos qui reges fuerunt et imperatores tamquam digniores duplici colore adonio minioque distinguimus. eos qui tamen imperatores fuerunt et non reges francorum per litteras de adonio depromimus. Reges francorum bonos per lineas minio adoniatas […] designamus.'

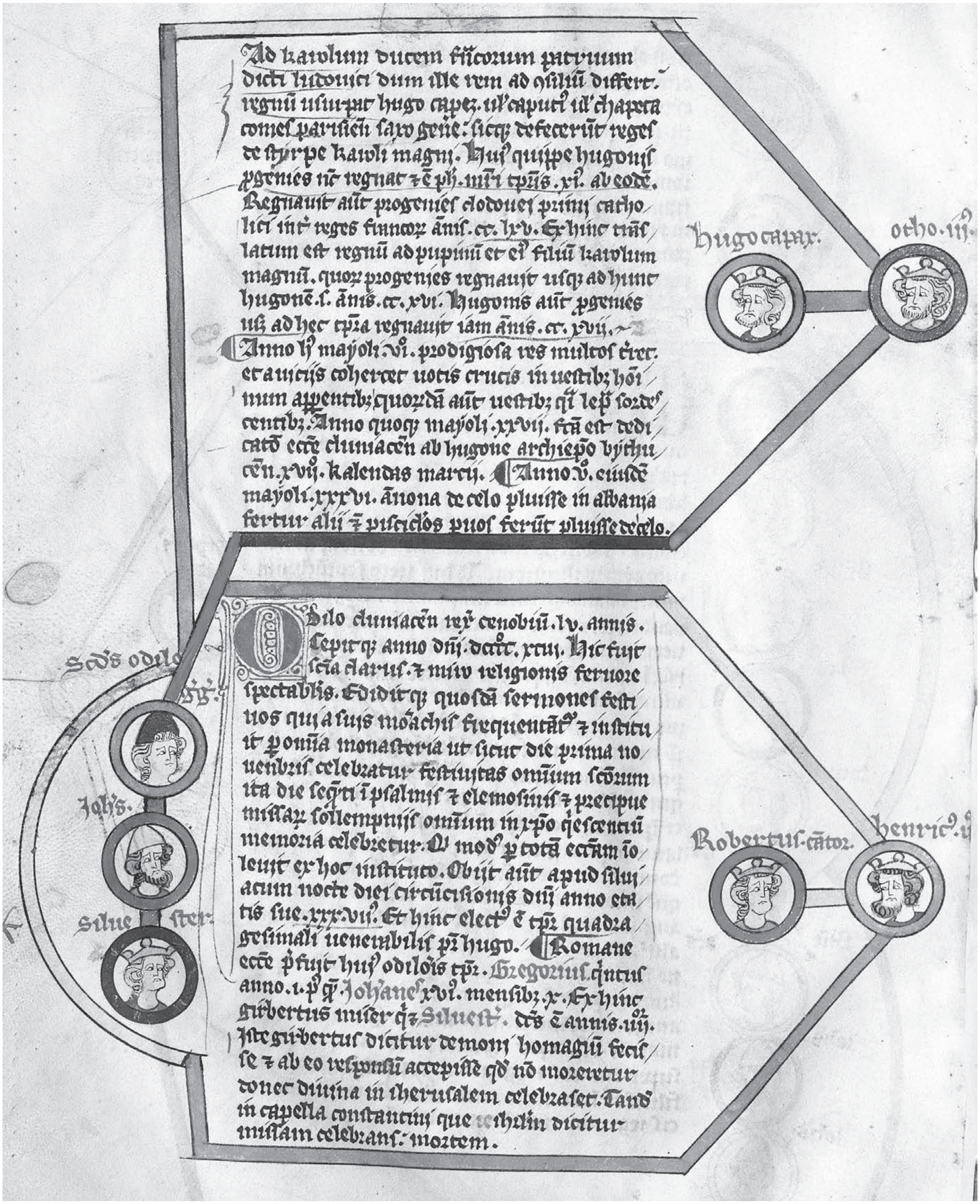
hugo capet.
otho iii.
Robertus cantor
henric. i.
Scs odilo
Iohs.
silvester

Figure 4.3. 'Hugues Capet and Robert II', Girardus de Arvernia or Antwerpia, *Abbreviatio figuralis historie*, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 4910, fol. 19^{v}. 1272–74. Photo courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France.

hero whom he was meant to emulate.[24] However, there is no explicit indication of this in the tree, and the poem was written in a period before the *reditus* concept had been actively promoted. Indeed, the author's treatment of the Robertians and Hugues Capet's accession to the throne in the tree indicate that he saw them as a parallel and not fully royal dynasty.

This is shown quite clearly in the layout and the colour coding. Down the centre of the Carolingian page (fol. 48^{v}) runs the red main royal lineage, with the various Carolingian monarchs all duly colour coded. Note that both Louis III and his brother appear as full kings in red, followed by an imaginary Louis 'who did nothing' ('qui nihil fecit') before their half-brother Charles the Simple, who is colour coded as a 'good' king. After him come the last Carolingians. In parallel, the space to their right is filled by a second line, that of the Robertians. This is headed by a rubric: 'The origin of the current kings of France' ('Origo modernorum regum francorum') accompanied by the fleur-de-lys, now emerging as the royal symbol.[25] The parallel tree then starts with the ancestor Robert the Strong, who has his own colour code: red lettering in a double-lined black box. His son King Eudes also has his own code: black lettering in a black and red box; his caption calls him a 'tutor' ('nutricius') to Charles the Simple and 'king in his place' ('rex loco eius'), granting him a special status as regent-king. But his brother Robert I is not given any kingly status: like other persons in non-royal side dynasties, he is in black in a single-line black box, and he is called 'prince' ('princeps'). Robert I's son Hugues the Great and Robert's son-in-law King Raoul's father (incorrectly shown as a son of Robert the Strong) also get that coding. However, Raoul is considered a proper king: not only does he get his name written in red within the red kingly box, but the line leading from his father to him, rather than being black like the rest of this side dynasty, is double, red, and decorated like the central royal line. Even more surprising, Raoul gets the distinction of being a 'good' king, with the coveted blue infill between the red lines of his box. But when it comes to Hugues Capet, the founder of the Capetian dynasty, the author's approval evaporates: Hugues is in black lettering like his father and is qualified as someone who merely 'obtained the kingdom' ('obtentor regni'). The page finishes with a red royal line emerging from Hugues, and his son Robert II at the top of the next page appears not only as a full king, but as a good one.

Thus through his colour coding and layout, Gilles de Paris was able subtly to draw distinctions between the status of the various Robertians, and even deny kingly status to the founder of his patron's dynasty. However, his complex colour-coding system was not imitated. A contemporary of Gilles, Peter of Poitiers, master of theology at the University of Paris, achieved a much more lasting success.[26]

Genealogical Diagrams: A Variety of Approaches

Peter of Poitiers set out to show the historical stories of the Bible, which had been retold for students by his predecessor Petrus Comestor in his *Historia scholastica*, in a more easily digestible form, that is, diagrams. He drew simple circle-and-line figures showing the dynasties of biblical characters or chains of medallions representing successions of personages such as Old Testament high priests. He supplemented the information about Jewish history with parallel lines of rulers of neighbouring states, such as the Babylonians, the Persians, or the successors of Alexander the Great, enabling readers to get some idea of the chronologies found in universal chronicles. His *Compendium historiae in genealogia Christi* was copied in numerous manuscripts, often alongside Comestor's history, both in codex format (Figure 6.9) and in rolls (Figure 3.10). Rolls, though more unwieldy than codices, are an ideal format for showing history literally unrolling in front of the reader's eyes, with long lines depicting successions of personages, whether related or unrelated by blood.[27] Diagrams also allowed parallel historical sets of rulers to be shown alongside each other, enabling the reader to grasp at a glance contemporaneous events in a way that reading consecutive blocks of text could never achieve.

From the model of Peter of Poitiers, numerous diagrammatical universal chronicles emerged, with additional information, such as successions of popes and imperial dynasties (both ancient Roman and medieval). In England in the thirteenth century, a tradition emerged of such genealogical trees centred on the kings of England, following the Peter of Poitiers example.[28]

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[24] Lewis, 'Dynastic Structures and Capetian Throne-Right', pp. 240–41, 246–47.

[25] Beaune, *The Birth of an Ideology*, trans. by Huston, p. 202.

[26] On Peter of Poitiers's *Compendium Genealogiae*, see Norbye, 'Peter of Poitiers'; Klapisch-Zuber, *L'Ombre des ancêtres*, pp. 121–46, pl. 19; Worm, 'Visualising the Order of History'; Worm, 'Diagrammatic Chronicles'; see the article in this volume by Worm, '*Arbor humanum genus significat*', esp. pp. 55–56.

[27] Klapisch-Zuber, *L'Ombre des ancêtres*, pp. 127–34, on the usefulness of graphics and the roll format.

It took longer for similar genealogical diagrams of the kings of France to emerge: they appeared around the beginning of the fifteenth century, accompanying a text known by its incipit as *A tous nobles*, both on their own and within universal chronicles, and they will be discussed below.[29]

Whilst the thirteenth century was seeing a flourishing of royal genealogical trees in England, very little was happening in France. The historian Guillaume de Nangis, one of the first continuators of the original *Grandes Chroniques de France*, made a rough genealogical sketch in the margin of one of his royal chronicles, but it is hardly a convincing effort.[30] More confidently, a certain Girardus de Arvernia or Antwerpia (d. 1288) used circle-and-line diagrams in the margins of his *Abbreviatio figuralis historie*, including medallions for popes, medieval western emperors, and kings of France (Figure 4.3).[31] His main originality is that once his narrative had reached the foundation of Cluny in 909/10, he organized his text in paragraphs according to the tenure of each Abbot of Cluny, and the genealogical diagrams served mainly as framing devices for these paragraphs; if a given king had ruled at the same time as two abbots, he would appear twice, under each abbot. Thus it is Cluny's history, rather than that of the royal dynasties of France, that dominates the graphic layout. Such a specialist diagram was unlikely to be imitated, nor was it.

The royal dynasties were the raison d'être of a couple of diagrams made by the monk Yves de Saint-Denis in the third section of his *Vie et miracles de saint Denis*, composed as a royal commission before 1317.[32] In this section, he narrated the miracles that St Denis effected for or through the kings of France, which entailed recounting various events of royal history. Writing in the tradition of the *Grandes Chroniques de France* produced in his monastery, Yves was particularly keen to stress the blood links between the three royal dynasties, and he resorted to diagrams to illustrate his point at each change of dynasty. The mythical Blitildis and all her descendants appeared in beautifully decorated square medallions in the margins, alongside brief textual captions, linking the Merovingian King Clotaire I to King Pippin.[33] In the second diagram, Charlemagne is shown originating the line of his direct successors as kings of France (skipping those outside that direct line, such as Charles the Simple's eldest brothers or the Emperor Charles the Fat), as well as a parallel line emerging from his son Louis the Pious towards the German Carolingian branch, from which Hugues Capet is shown to descend, through a maternal grandmother whose Carolingian parentage is in reality suspect (though, ironically, Hugues did have Carolingian blood, but not in the way Yves imagined). In the accompanying text, Yves referred to the *reditus*, but added that it was redundant, as Hugues had Carolingian blood and was emphatically not a usurper as some historians alleged. He made explicit reference to his diagram which was there to strengthen his argument: 'What we have said about the descent of this Hugues from the race of Charlemagne is declared more in full in the following tree (*in arbore sequenti*)'.[34]

The Arrival of 'Vegetal' Trees

Also in the early fourteenth century, a new author of genealogical diagrams appeared who, for the first time in French royal genealogies, made a conscious link between the terminology used to refer to genealogical figures, that is, a 'tree' ('arbor', used since the tenth century as

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[28] Klapisch-Zuber, *L'Ombre des ancêtres*, pp. 177–83. Monroe, 'Thirteenth- and Early Fourteenth-Century Illustrated Genealogical Manuscripts'. Monroe, 'Two Medieval Genealogical Roll-Chronicles'. Laborderie, 'Genealogical Chronicles in Anglo-Norman'. Laborderie, '"Ligne de reis." Culture historique', p. 408 on Peter of Poitiers. Laborderie, 'A New Pattern for English History'.

[29] The earliest versions of *A tous nobles* were probably composed between 1409 and 1415: Norbye, 'Genealogies and Dynastic Awareness in the Hundred Years War', p. 299.

[30] Paris, BNF, MS lat. 6184. Klapisch-Zuber, *L'Ombre des ancêtres*, pp. 168–71, pl. 23.

[31] Paris, BNF, MS lat. 4910. Klapisch-Zuber, *L'Ombre des ancêtres*, pp. 150–52, pl. 21. Norbye, 'Girardus de Arvernia'. Melville, 'Geschichte in graphischer Gestalt', pp. 85–88; illustrations pp. 132–35.

[32] Paris, BNF, MS lat. 13836; copy in Paris, BNF, MS lat. 5286; this third section is sometimes referred to as the *Gesta regum francorum*. Klapisch-Zuber, *L'Ombre des ancêtres*, pp. 172–74, pl. 24; Klapisch-Zuber, *L'Arbre des familles*, p. 20. Brown and Norbye, 'Yves of St. Denis'. See Brown, 'Paris and Paradise', for the latest bibliography; many thanks to Professor Brown for an advance copy and much useful advice.

[33] See Beaune, *Les Manuscrits des rois*, pp. 147–48, for large colour illustrations of the two main diagrams and an analysis of them. Hedeman, *The Royal Image*, p. 35, explores one of these diagrams; illustration p. 36. Transcription of the texts relating to the changes of dynasty in Brown, 'La Généalogie capétienne', pp. 209–14.

[34] Paris, BNF, MS lat. 13836, fols 11^{v} and 77^{v}. Fol. 77^{v}: 'Hec autem que diximus de descensu istius hugonis de progenie karoli; in arbore sequenti plenius declarantur.'

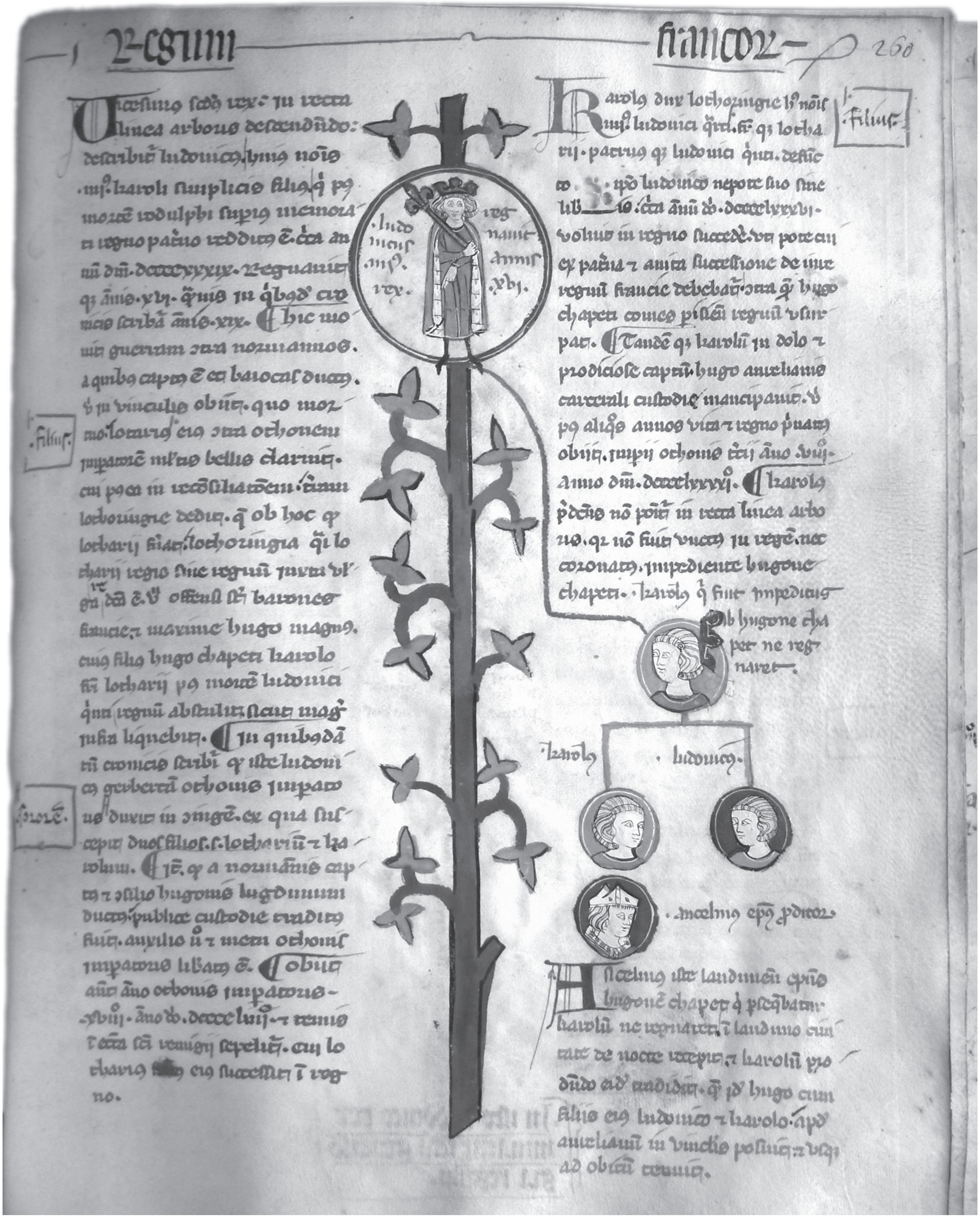

Figure 4.4. 'The last Carolingian king, Louis V, and his uncle Charles of Lorraine (losing the crown)', Bernard Gui, *Arbor genealogie*, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 4989, fol. 260^{r}. 1300–25. Photo courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France.

mentioned above), and actual botanical trees. Botanical trees had long been drawn in the context of other symbolic trees, for example, Trees of Vices and Virtues.[35] In the late twelfth century, they had even been depicted in some genealogical diagrams in Germany.[36] But now they appeared, with semi-realistic roots, trunks, branches, and leaves, in French genealogies. The author of this innovation was Bernard Gui, inquisitor in the south of France and active scholar in the best Dominican tradition of systematic collection and exposition of knowledge.[37] He produced several historical works, including a chronicle of the kings of France (*Reges francorum*), a list of the kings (*Nomina regum francorum*), and a genealogical tree (*Arbor genealogie regum francorum*).[38] Gui's method was to draw a slightly realistic tree on each page of his book, with roots at the bottom (often hidden in a little green mound) and a smooth brown trunk with little twigs bearing stylized green leaves (often shaped like fig leaves) right up to the top of the page (Figure 4.4). Placed over the trunk, interrupting the brown line, were large medallions containing a standing figure of a king; alongside the tree were smaller medallions containing heads only, representing the wives of certain kings, some of their younger children, and the occasional other important figure such as contemporary saints or bishops.

Like Gilles de Paris, Gui had a carefully conceived visual code, which he set out at the beginning of his *Arbor genealogie*. The tree trunk represented the 'recta linea' ('right line'), the line of true kings; any king whom Gui did not consider a rightful monarch would be banished to the side medallions, whether they were illegitimate in his eyes or had not fathered royal progeny.[39] As for the persons in these side medallions, he explained that their headgear would reveal their status: 'only their heads are drawn in their medallions on the side branches; their rank or sanctity is shown by haloes if they were saints, by regal crowns if they were kings or queens. If indeed they had no rank, they are painted bare headed'.[40]

His opinions about the legitimacy or otherwise of each king were expressed in the brief paragraphs placed alongside the tree, by the numbering of the kings (those who were not part of his scheme of royal succession were not given a number), and by their positioning on the trunk or in a side medallion. Occasionally, the side medallions represented several generations of a collateral line. One such grouping included the mythical Blitildis and her descendants, shown right down to King Pippin. However, although Pippin is described there as 'later king of France' ('postea rex francorum'), there is no link to the big medallion of him as king that appears at the top of a tree many pages later, so the impact of the supposed blood link between Blitildis and the Carolingians is largely lost. Indeed, after the last Merovingian king, a rubric appears at the bottom of the page saying that 'the first genealogy ends here' ('Hic terminatur prima genealogia'), with another one at the top of the next page stating that 'here starts the second genealogy' ('Hic incipit secunda genealogia'). Pippin is described and represented as a proper king, but the comment in the text does note that he did not 'succeed' to the throne but 'acceded' to it ('non tam in regno successit quam accessit'), having been made king by the Franks and with papal consent.[41]

Gui's attitude to the various kings who reigned during and after the life of Charles the Simple varies. He relegates Louis III to the sidelines as the son of a 'concubine', but explains that his brother Carloman is allowed on the main trunk, because despite also being the son of a concubine, he reigned while his half-brother was too young to rule. He states that Eudes was merely a 'protector' ('tutor') and did not descend from royal blood, hence his absence from the main line. Nor are Robert I (a 'princeps') or Raoul ('who was not of royal lineage': 'non fuit de regali stipite natus') allowed full regal status. Instead, all the Robertians (from the ancestor Robert the Strong down to Hugues Capet) appear in a side diagram of small medallions linked together. However,

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[35] See O'Reilly, *Studies in the Iconography of the Virtues and Vices*, pp. 325–32.

[36] They are found in the *Welf Chronicle*, in Fulda, Hessische Landesbibliothek, Cod. D.11, fol. 13^{v}. See Klapisch-Zuber, *L'Ombre des ancêtres*, pp. 112–17 and pl. 17; Klapisch-Zuber, *L'Arbre des familles*, p. 66. Oexle, '*Historia Welforum* und Stammbaum der Welfen', plate on p. 64.

[37] See *Bernard Gui et son monde*. Rech, 'Bernard Gui'. Melville, 'Geschichte in graphischer Gestalt', pp. 90–91; illustration on p. 137.

[38] Klapisch-Zuber, *L'Ombre des ancêtres*, pp. 174–76; pl. 25. Beaune, *Les Manuscrits des rois*, p. 149: illustration and brief commentary. Delisle, 'Notice sur les manuscrits de Bernard Gui', pp. 254–58: list of most manuscripts of the *Arbor*.

[39] Lamarrigue, *Bernard Gui*, pp. 435–65, as well as Lamarrigue, 'La Rédaction d'un catalogue des rois de France', on his opinions about monarchy.

[40] Paris, BNF, MS nouv. acq. lat. 1171, fol. 134^{v}: 'lateraliter infra suos circulos depinguntur sola capita habentes, dignitatem aut sanctitatem suam declarando per dyademata si sancti fuerunt, aut per coronas regias si fuerunt reges aut regine. Si vero nullam dignitatem habuerunt nuda capita depinguntur.'

[41] Paris, BNF, MS lat. 4989, fol. 83^{v}. Lamarrigue, *Bernard Gui*, p. 441.

Eudes and Raoul are depicted wearing crowns: they may not be legitimate kings, but Gui does not deny that they actually reigned.

Hugues Capet, having appeared once already in this diagram, labelled as 'obtentor regni', reappears a couple of pages later in the margin again, alongside the last Carolingian, captioned as 'count of Paris later king of the Franks' ('primo comes parisiensis postea rex francorum'). Significantly, in neither of his medallions does he appear wearing a crown, and the text specifically says that he should not wear one ('he was not of royal lineage and therefore did not use a crown': 'cum non esset de stipite regio et quia dyadem ate non est usus').[42] A rubric announces the third dynasty, but it is his son Robert II who tops the tree as legitimate king. Apart from the strong visual symbol of Hugues being constantly relegated to the side medallions, Gui used another striking optical device. To show how the uncle of the last Carolingian king lost the opportunity of a crown, he depicted the hapless Carolingian in a little side diagram together with his two sons, and on the edge of the man's head he drew a crown slipping off it (Figure 4.4).

Bernard Gui evidently mastered the subtleties of visual presentation and knew how to use graphic resources as a means of supporting his political opinions regarding the place of successive rulers in his own list of 'true' kings of France. However, his conceit of drawing botanical trees as the underlying structures for his genealogical trees is less successful, if one considers it from a strictly logical point of view.[43] In the vegetal tree, life starts at the base, where the original seed first struck roots into the ground. From these roots emerges the trunk, and as time goes by, branches sprout from the trunk which in turn generate new twigs, and so forth. The parallel with genealogical diagrams is that the original ancestor (like the base of the trunk) engenders children (branches), who then bring forth the next generations (more branches). The narrative of the French royal genealogies, both in diagrams and chronicles, operated in this direction: it started with the chosen ancestor and moved along with each generation begetting the next set of offspring.

At this point, the parallel with botanical trees breaks down. As books were written to be read from top to bottom, naturally the text concerning the progenitors appeared above that regarding their descendants. Most genealogical diagrams, even those without accompanying text, chose to reflect this order, with the ancestor at the top. Some diagrams, instead of this vertical layout, adopted a horizontal axis, in which case they were read from left to right, with the chronologically oldest elements to the left. As with Trees of Jesse, it was conceivable to start a diagram with the ancestor at the bottom of the page and the offspring going up it, but this direction was rarely adopted in genealogical figures and was never used in the French examples under discussion.[44]

A diagram made of abstract geometric shapes such as circles or boxes and lines can be manipulated to be read in any direction. As we have seen, diagrams of this type used to represent successive generations that divided into branches were called 'arbor' even before we have surviving evidence of such figures. However, once authors or artists drew genealogical diagrams with the ancestor at the top, a fundamental incongruity emerged with the concept of the vegetal tree, especially once they started to add vegetal elements.[45]

So it is with Bernard Gui's trees. As he was composing his *Arbor genealogie* for books in codex format, not for rolls, he had to chop up his succession of kings into manageable chunks that would each fit into one page. On each page, he drew a diagram containing one or more kings, starting from the eldest one at the top. Over this schema, he superimposed the decorative conceit of a tree, drawing a stylized botanical tree with its base at the bottom of the page and its upper leaves at the top. Thus, although the decoration reminds the reader that the diagram was called an *arbor*, it does not aid the understanding of the genealogy. On the contrary, from a purely logical point of view, it contradicts it, not only by depicting botanical trees that 'progress' from bottom to top, but also by having a new tree on each page, thus losing logical continuity with the generations represented on the page before or after. In practice, the reader soon ignores the arboreal decorative elements and treats the diagrams in the same way as an abstract circle-and-line figure; the vegetal decoration becomes an irrelevance.

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[42] Paris, BNF, MS lat. 4989, fol. 260^{v}.

[43] Klapisch-Zuber, 'The Genesis of the Family Tree', pp. 118 and 123, and fig. 15, had already remarked on this illogicality, commenting on an unidentified fragment which she later recognized as Bernard Gui's.

[44] The tree in the *Welf Chronicle* is one of the very few examples of a diagram being read from bottom to top. Klapisch-Zuber, *L'Ombre des ancêtres*, p. 116.

[45] Klapisch-Zuber, 'The Genesis of the Family Tree', makes a perceptive analysis of the tensions and discrepancies between the tree image and its associated symbolism and the terminology used in conjunction with it. See also Klapisch-Zuber, *L'Ombre des ancêtres*, pp. 233–36 regarding the debates amongst late medieval jurists and scholars about the contradictions between the metaphors relating to trees (in particular of consanguinity) and their representation in writing and diagrams, and the logic of human family relationships; and their increasing concern with the contradiction between kinship trees orientated from top to bottom and natural trees growing upwards.

A tous nobles*: Variations on an Arboreal Theme*

One can see other scribes and artists playing with the conceit of arboreal decoration and occasionally grappling with the conundrum of the direction of the genealogical tree in the next example of this case study, already briefly evoked above: *A tous nobles*, a popular genealogy of the kings of France that appeared in the early fifteenth century based on the model of the *Compendium historiae* of Peter of Poitiers.[46] It went on to be copied in more than sixty manuscripts in the course of the next century and to be rewritten in more than twenty textual versions, most of them accompanied by similarly reworked genealogical diagrams. This short anonymous work is known by its incipit, *A tous nobles qui aiment beaux faits et bonnes histoires*, and is found as a stand-alone text in about a third of the surviving manuscripts. Otherwise, it is embedded in universal chronicles, losing its incipit in the process; the most popular version of these chronicles, in roll form, has been studied by Lisa Fagin Davis under the name of *Chronique Anonyme Universelle à la mort de Charles VII*.[47] The number of surviving manuscripts and the fact that this modest text was constantly rewritten attest to its popularity in a period of increasing interest in history on the part of a lay audience, which was probably the main target of this work in the vernacular. The presence of diagrams, many of them visually attractive, in the majority of manuscripts would have increased the work's appeal.

In terms of contents, if one considers the sensitive political and historical issues discussed above, *A tous nobles* takes a fairly moderate stance. Like most other histories of France, it divides the narrative, and the tree, into the three main dynasties.[48] Unlike the *Grandes Chroniques de France* on which it purports to be based, it does not toe the official line regarding the uninterrupted bloodline of the three dynasties: even though some versions mention the mythical Blitildis, no version of the tree draws a line linking her and the first Carolingian king. Nor is there any attempt visually to join the Carolingians to the Capetians in any tree, and only four versions refer to Louis VIII's Carolingian ancestry (the crux of the *reditus* idea) in the text. Visually, each dynasty ends with a break in the thick central line that represents the main royal succession, and the new dynasties usually start with a collateral diagram in parallel with the main line showing the immediate ancestors of the first king (the mayors of the Palace for the Carolingians; Hugues Capet's father and brothers for the Capetians), linked to the name of the first king placed in the central line.

Unlike some of the genealogies examined earlier, *A tous nobles* does not make any link between the Robertians and the Capetians, and it removes one Robertian king more or less completely. Thus Robert I only appears in one version of the *A tous nobles* tree and nowhere in the text, and his son Hugues the Great is represented simply as Hugues Capet's father, without any link to any of his royal Robertian relatives. Regarding the legitimacy of the various rulers who governed France during Charles the Simple's life, the textual versions of *A tous nobles* generally agree that Louis III and Carloman were illegitimate because they were born out of wedlock, so they ruled on behalf of their infant brother.[49] Eudes is presented as someone elected to govern during the minority of Charles and is praised for his wise rule. Robert I does not appear at all; the villain of the piece here is Herbert de Vermandois, who did indeed treacherously capture and imprison Charles. Raoul is introduced as another king elected by the nobility. In the trees, all

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[46] Norbye, 'A tous nobles'. See Norbye, 'Genealogies and Dynastic Awareness in the Hundred Years War', for a listing of the manuscripts containing *A tous nobles*, and illustrations of four copies. Klapisch-Zuber, *L'Ombre des ancêtres*, does not recognize *A tous nobles* as such, but briefly examines two versions of it on pp. 191–92 (two rolls held in Princeton) and a copy of another version (Paris, BNF, MS fr. 4991) on p. 247. *A tous nobles* was first identified and classified into versions by Zale, 'Unofficial Histories of France', and has been studied by an art historian: Serchuk, 'Picturing France in the Fifteenth Century'. In Norbye, '"*A tous nobles qui aiment beaux faits et bonnes histoires*"', the manuscripts are listed by versions and the authors and audience discussed.

[47] See the entry by Fagin Davis, 'Chronique Anonyme Universelle'; Fagin Davis, *La Chronique Anonyme Universelle*. In my research on *A tous nobles*, it is called 'version H', after the art historian Nathalie Hurel who first worked on it: Hurel, 'Les Chroniques universelles en rouleau'. Klapisch-Zuber, *L'Ombre des ancêtres*, refers to Hurel's work on p. 147, and indirectly on p. 193 (no. 13 on p. 379); the incomplete roll that she discusses on p. 192 is also a copy of this chronicle. Morrison and Hedeman, *Imagining the Past in France*, pp. 242–45, give a description and illustration of one of the rolls.

[48] For a more detailed discussion on the treatment of the change of dynasties in *A tous nobles*, see Norbye, 'Genealogies and Dynastic Awareness in the Hundred Years War', pp. 308–11.

[49] See Zale, 'Bastards or Kings or Both?', for more details.

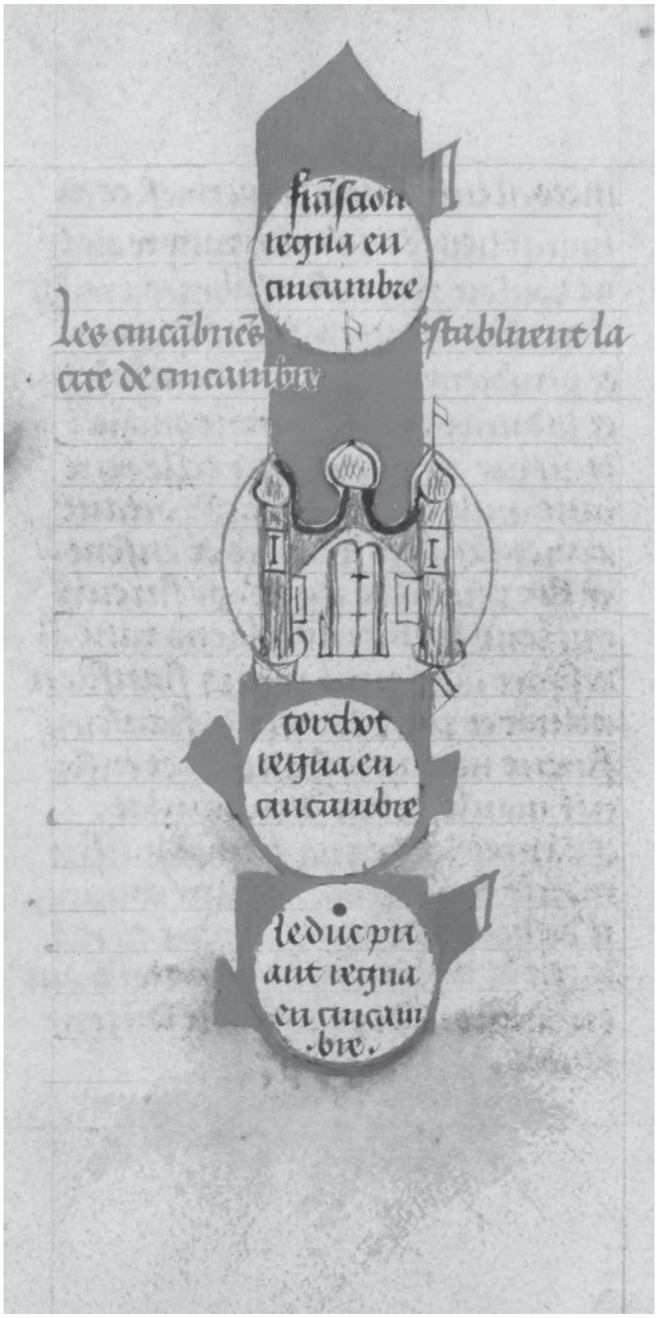
francion regna en ciccambre
les ciccambriens establirent la cite de ciccambre
torchot regna en ciccambre
le duc priant regna en ciccambre

Figure 4.5. 'Francio, mythical first ruler of the "Franks", and two successors; the city of Sicambria', *A tous nobles* (Genealogical chronicle of the Kings of France), Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS fr. 5697, fol. 2^{v}. 1400–25. Photo courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France.

these kings, including Charles's half-brothers, tend to appear in parallel side lines, rather than in the main central trunk. The main Carolingian succession of kings remains in the centre, with Charles the Simple's contemporary rulers accorded visibility (apart from Robert I) but a lesser status. However, there is none of the outright hostility that one finds in the Saint-Aubin chronicle, for example. The textual narrative of Hugues Capet's accession states that Hugues was a usurper whose military superiority deprived the rightful Carolingian heir of the throne, but it also says that he was a valiant and worthy man ('preudome') of high rank and that he ruled wisely. The author(s) of *A tous nobles*, either deliberately or through incomplete information in the original archetype, have slightly misrepresented the Robertians' position in the royal succession and have overlooked the family relationship between Hugues Capet and the Robertians, and they do not consider the Robertians 'proper' kings, but they do not reject them outright.

Visually, most of the manuscripts of *A tous nobles* have trees formed of straightforward circle-and-line diagrams, where the main decorative element in some versions is the presence of medallions containing little pictures of churches and the occasional palace, usually representing royal ecclesiastical foundations.[50] However, a few manuscripts do have elements seeking to evoke the vegetal aspect of botanical trees.

One of the earliest manuscripts of *A tous nobles* in codex format is Paris, BNF, MS fr. 5697 (Figure 4.5), dating from the early fifteenth century. The designer has not tried to make a continuous tree flowing from page to page, but, like Bernard Gui, on each page he has fitted one or more kings in a segment of the genealogical diagram. The segments are placed immediately before or after the paragraph concerning the king(s) depicted in the segment; each segment occupies a half or full page. Kings occupy the central vertical axis, with some wives and younger children in circles alongside or below the king, plus the occasional contemporary saint. As in other versions of *A tous nobles*, there are indications of cities and religious foundations, in a very stylized form. The central axis is drawn as a simplified tree trunk, coloured in red, with little stumps emerging, making each segment look like a trimmed log. As in Bernard Gui, the vegetal elements remind the reader that genealogical diagrams were referred to as trees — the prologue of *A tous nobles*

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[50] The most decorated manuscripts are the large rolls of version H, which usually have around sixty medallions with miniatures, mostly of standard scenes such as kings in majesty or the foundation of cities.

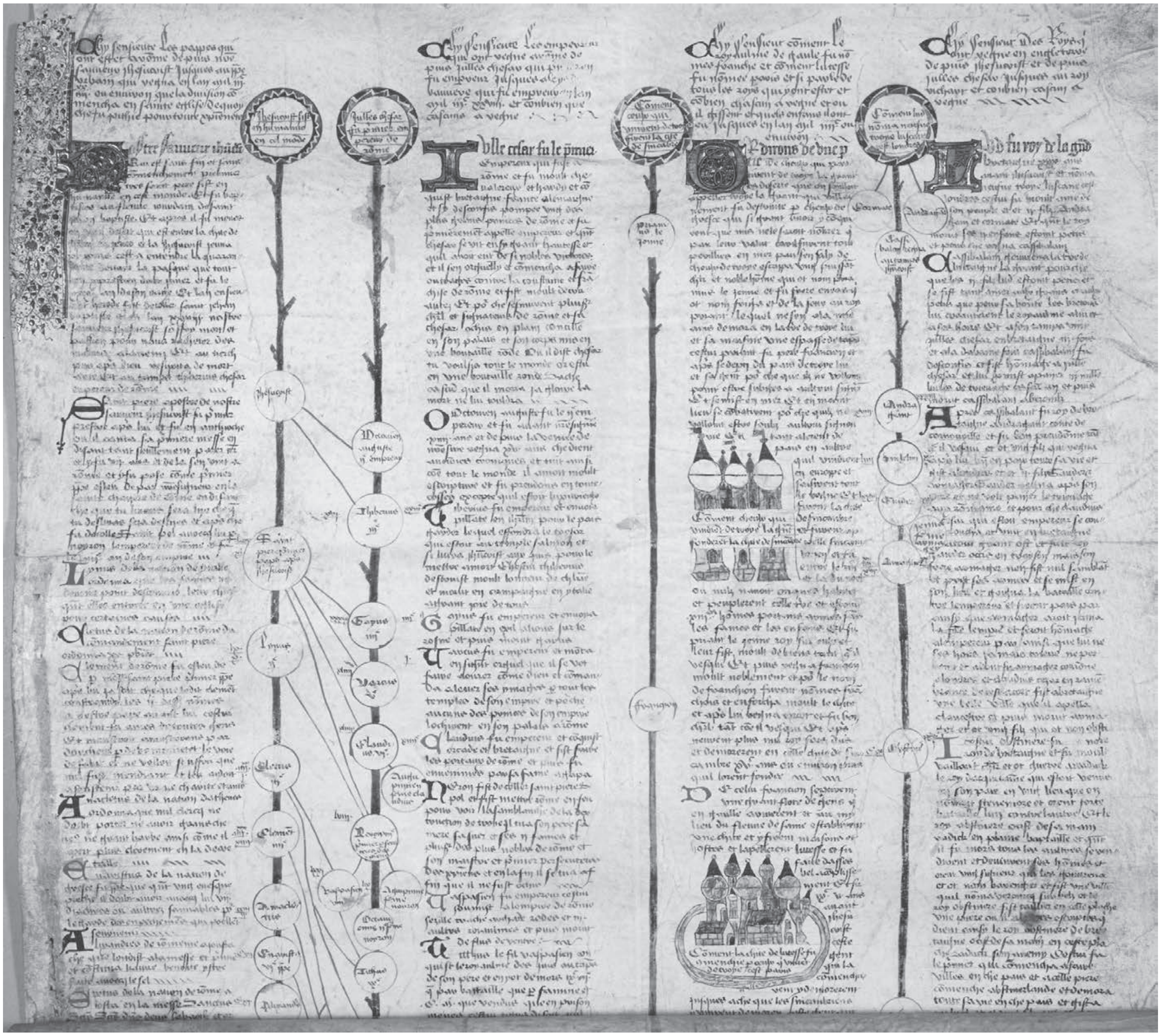

Figure 4.6. 'Kings of France in column three, starting with Priam the young; foundation of Sicambria', Universal chronicle including *A tous nobles*, New York, Columbia University Library, Plimpton MS 286, top of roll. *c.* 1410. Photo courtesy of Columbia University Library.

specifically mentions 'l'arbre ci après figuré' ('the tree drawn below') — but the arboreal conceit does not aid in the interpretation of the actual lineage depicted. Because of the segmentation of the tree, there is no sense of continuity or of dynasty, and thus the changes of dynasty are visually unremarkable; only a rubric heading in the text announces: 'Here starts the lineage of [Charlemagne/Hugues Capet]' ('Ci ensuit la lignee de …').

Another early manuscript of *A tous nobles* is New York, Columbia Univ., MS Plimpton 286, this time in roll format (Figure 4.6). In this case, *A tous nobles* is incorporated into a universal chronicle that begins around the period of Christ, with four parallel narratives of popes, Roman then medieval emperors, and kings of France and of England laid out in four columns with genealogical figures in the margins alongside them. The genealogical tree takes the form of a standard circle-and-line diagram, but the artist has given it an arboreal flavour by colouring the main vertical line in green, and in the early stages, he adds little stumps off the central 'trunk', hoping, like the artist of the previous manuscript, to give a more vegetal impression. However, he does not persevere with this effort, and soon the trunk becomes simply a smooth green line.

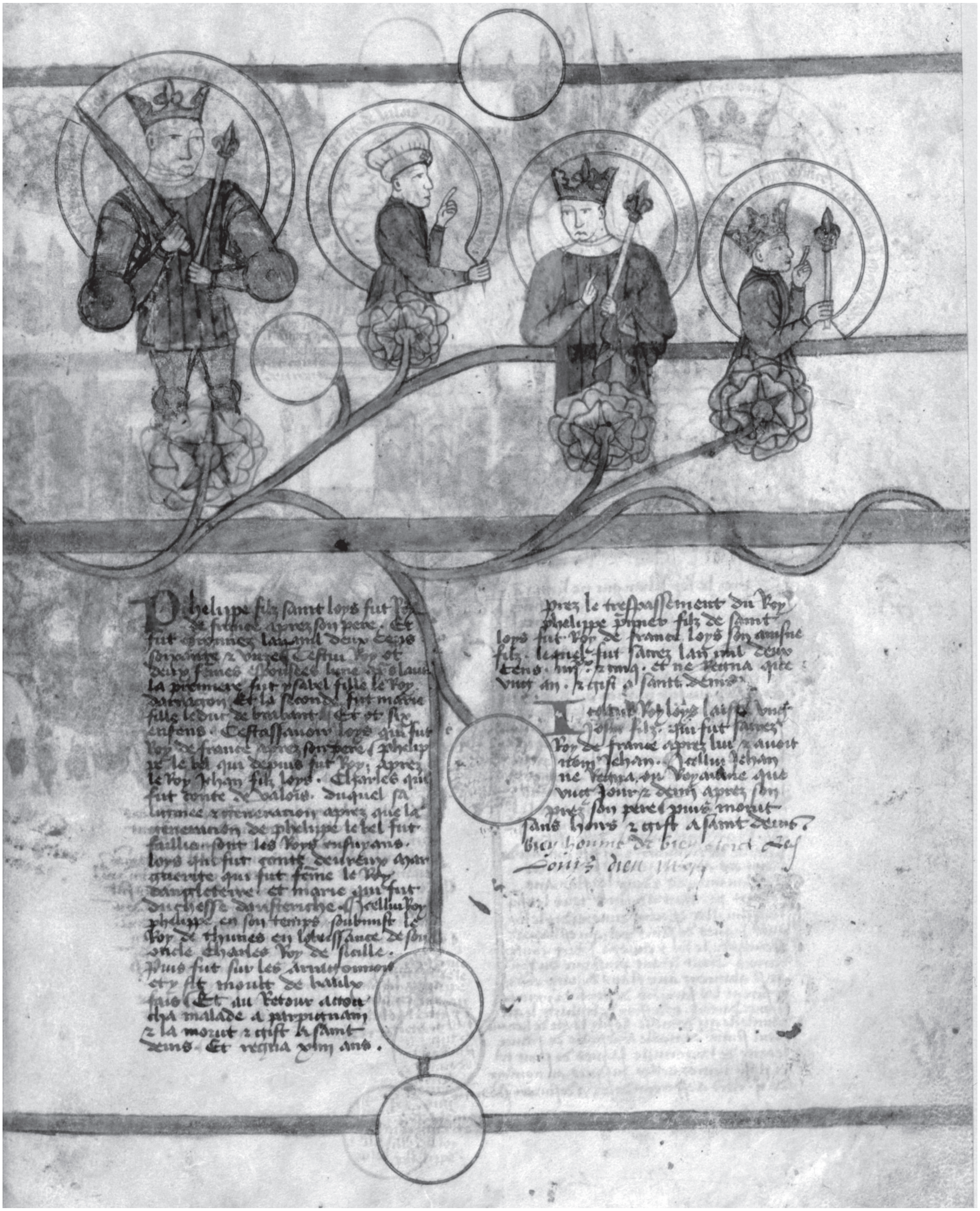

Figure 4.7. 'Central branch: Philippe III, Top branch: his son Charles count of Valois (not a king, hence no crown); on central branch: his grandson Louis X (erroneously called son) and Louis's son Jean I (who died as a baby)', *A tous nobles*, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS fr. 4991, fol. 16^{r}. *c.* 1456–61. Photo courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France.

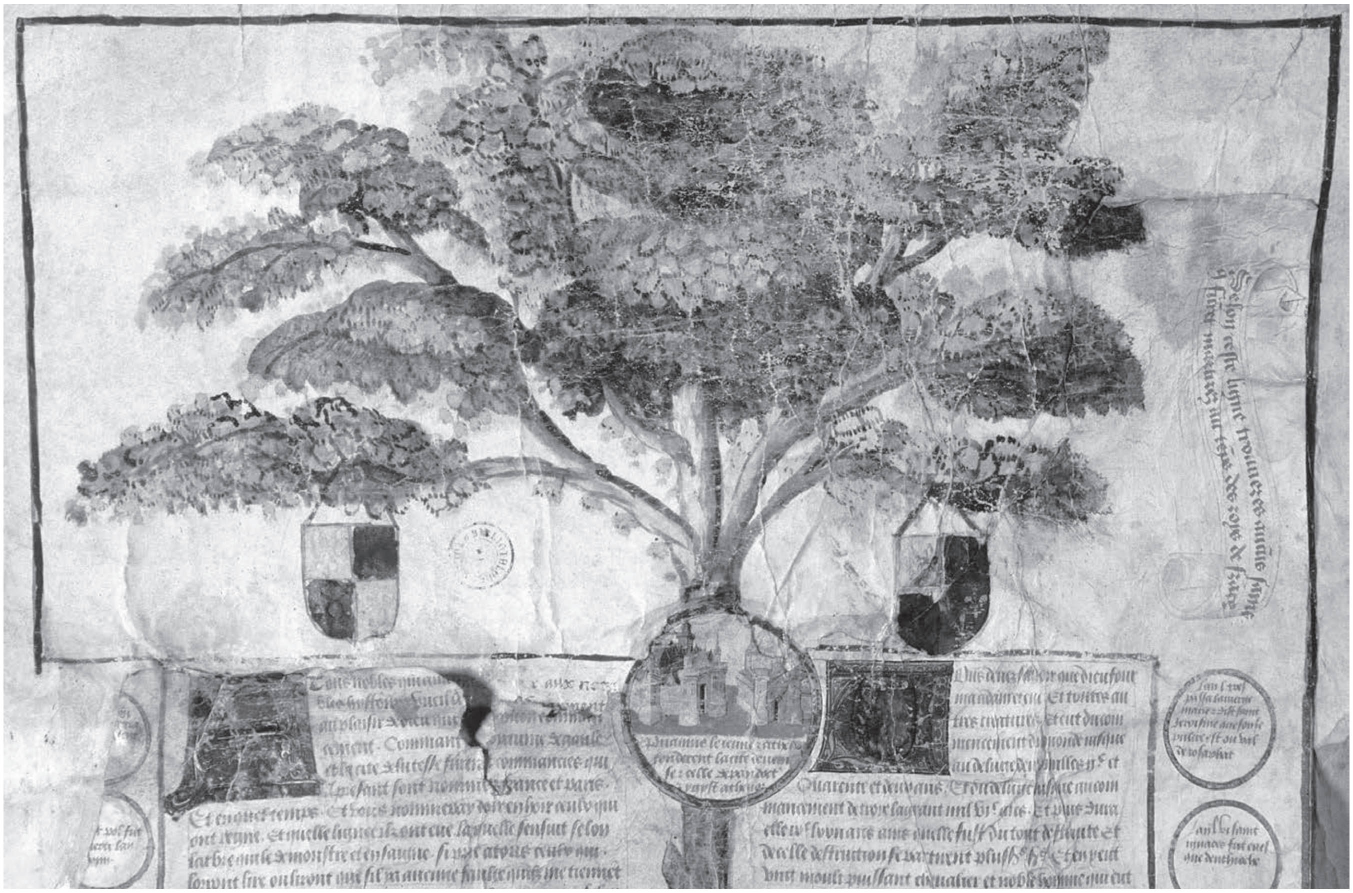

Figure 4.8. 'Foundation of Venice by Priam the young', *A tous nobles* (Chronicle of the Kings of France), Tours, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 1039, top of roll. 1500–15. Photo courtesy of the Bibliothèque municipale, Tours.

In terms of the visual representation of the dynasties, the Columbia manuscript is fairly typical of the *A tous nobles* trees represented in rolls: the main vertical line breaks off at the end of each dynasty. There are some small inaccuracies regarding the rulers during Charles the Simple's lifetime, and all of them are shown outside the main central line. Overall, the roll format makes the dynastic continuities and discontinuities much clearer than most of the codex versions of *A tous nobles*.

In one copy of *A tous nobles*, Paris, BNF, MS fr. 4991, the scribe overcame the handicap of the codex format: he made his genealogical diagram run horizontally, creating a sense of continuity from one page to the next (Figure 4.7).[51] He also gave it an exuberantly vegetal appearance, depicting the tree as a rose bush with green shoots and pinkish roses in which stand drawings of the rulers, in three-quarter or full length. Like Bernard Gui, he used headgear to indicate status; the kings wear crowns, and those not considered full sovereigns, such as Charles the Simple's half brothers or Eudes, are given hats, as is Charles de Valois, son and father of kings.

One of the latest manuscripts of *A tous nobles*, Tours, Bib. Municipale, MS 1039 (Figure 4.8), is a roll copied with continuations in the early sixteenth century. The main text is copied by three scribes, and the central trunk is painted to look like a real tree trunk and changes appearance when the text does. The top of the roll has been repaired at some stage, so that it is unclear whether the decoration is original or not: it represents a luxuriant leafy tree, with two unidentified coats of arms hanging from branches, and the realistic trunk that goes on to form the vertical axis of the genealogical diagram. Of all the depictions of trees in this survey, it is by far the most lifelike, but it still has the same logical discrepancy as the other examples: the top of the tree is where the ancestors appear, with the descendants moving down towards the roots.

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[51] More illustrations within Serchuk, 'Picturing France in the Fifteenth Century', or Klapisch-Zuber, *L'Arbre des familles*, p. 139.

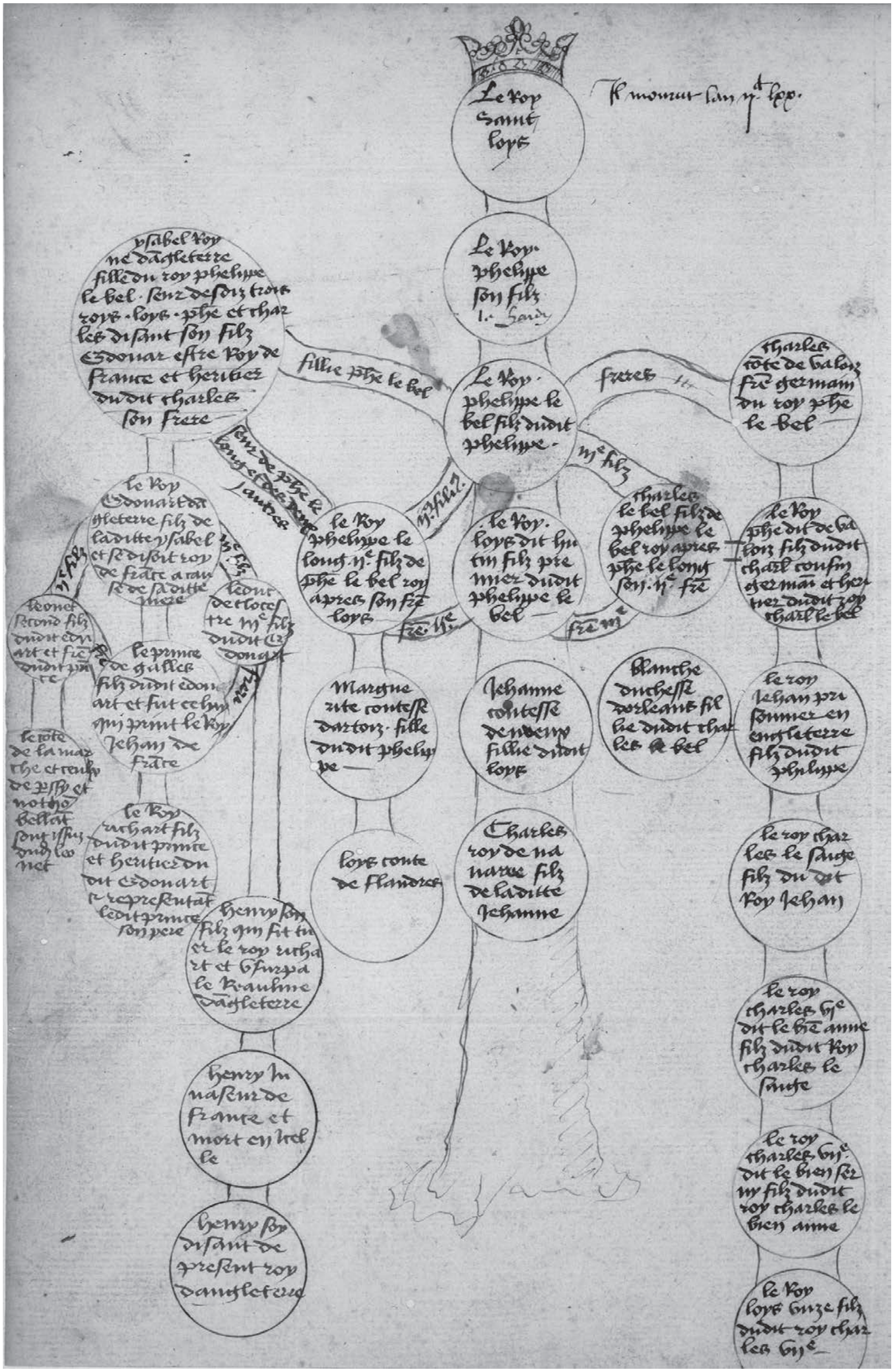
Le Roy Saint Loys
Le Roy Phelippe son filz
Le Roy Phelippe le bel filz dudit Phelippe
fille Phe le bel
freres
Charles conte de Valoiz frere germain du roy Phe le bel
Le Roy Phelippe le long ii.e filz de Phe le bel roy apres son frere Loys
Le Roy Loys dit hutin filz premier dudit Phelippe le bel
Charles le bel filz de Phelippe le bel roy apres Phe le long son ii.e frere
Marguerite contesse dartoiz fille dudit Phelippe
Jehanne contesse deureux fillie dudit Loys
Blanche duchesse dorleans fille dudit Charles le bel
Le roy Jehan prisonnier en Angleterre filz dudit Phelippe
Loys conte de Flandres
Charles roy de Navarre filz de ladicte Jehanne
Le roy Charles le Sage filz du dit Roy Jehan
Le roy Charles vi.e dit le bien amme filz dudit Roy Charles le Sage
Le roy Charles vii.e dit le bien servy filz dudit roy Charles le bien amme
Le Roy Loys unze filz dudit roy Charles vii.e
Henry son filz qui fit tuer le roy Richart et usurpa le Royaume dangleterre
Henry soy disant de present roy dangleterre

Figure 4.9. 'Three branches of descendants of Saint Louis; from left to right: the kings of England, Navarre, and France', Jean Juvenal des Ursins, *Audite celi*, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS fr. 5038, fol. 45^{v}. After 1461. Photo courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France.

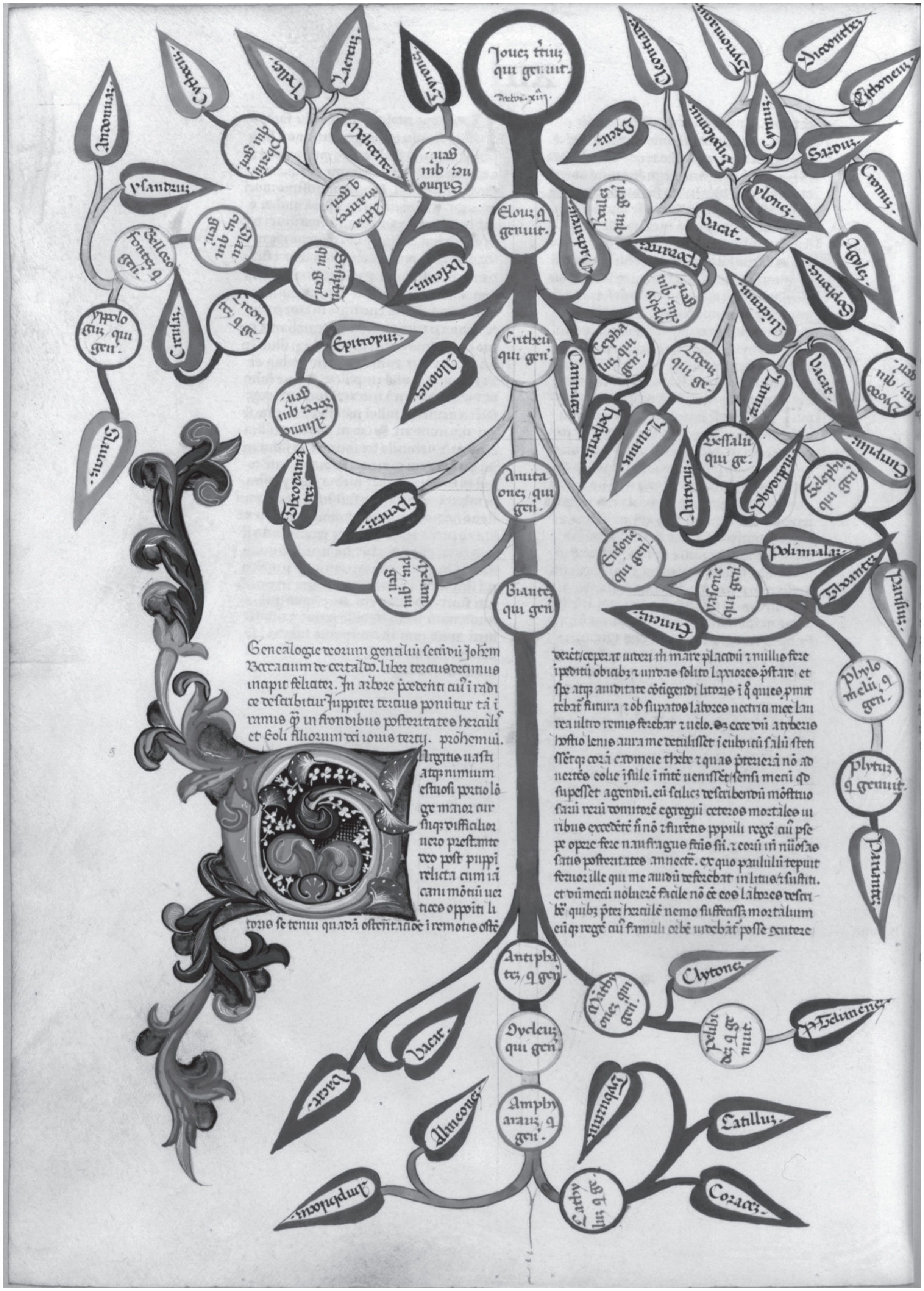
Iouez tercius qui genuit.
Elouz q genuit.
Ctheu qui gen.
Amita onez qui geni.
Biantez qui geni.
Antiphatez q geni.
Oycleuz qui gen.
Amphyaraiuz q gen.
Vacat.
Almeone.
Amphilocus.
Clytone.
Cathillus.
Catillus.
Coraci.
Tessalu qui ge.
Polimnalaz.
Plytuz q genuit.
Phylomelus q gen.

Figure 4.10. 'Descendants of Jupiter, including Hercules', Giovanni Boccaccio, *De genealogia deorum*. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 7877, fol. 131^{v}. Before 1388. Photo courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France.

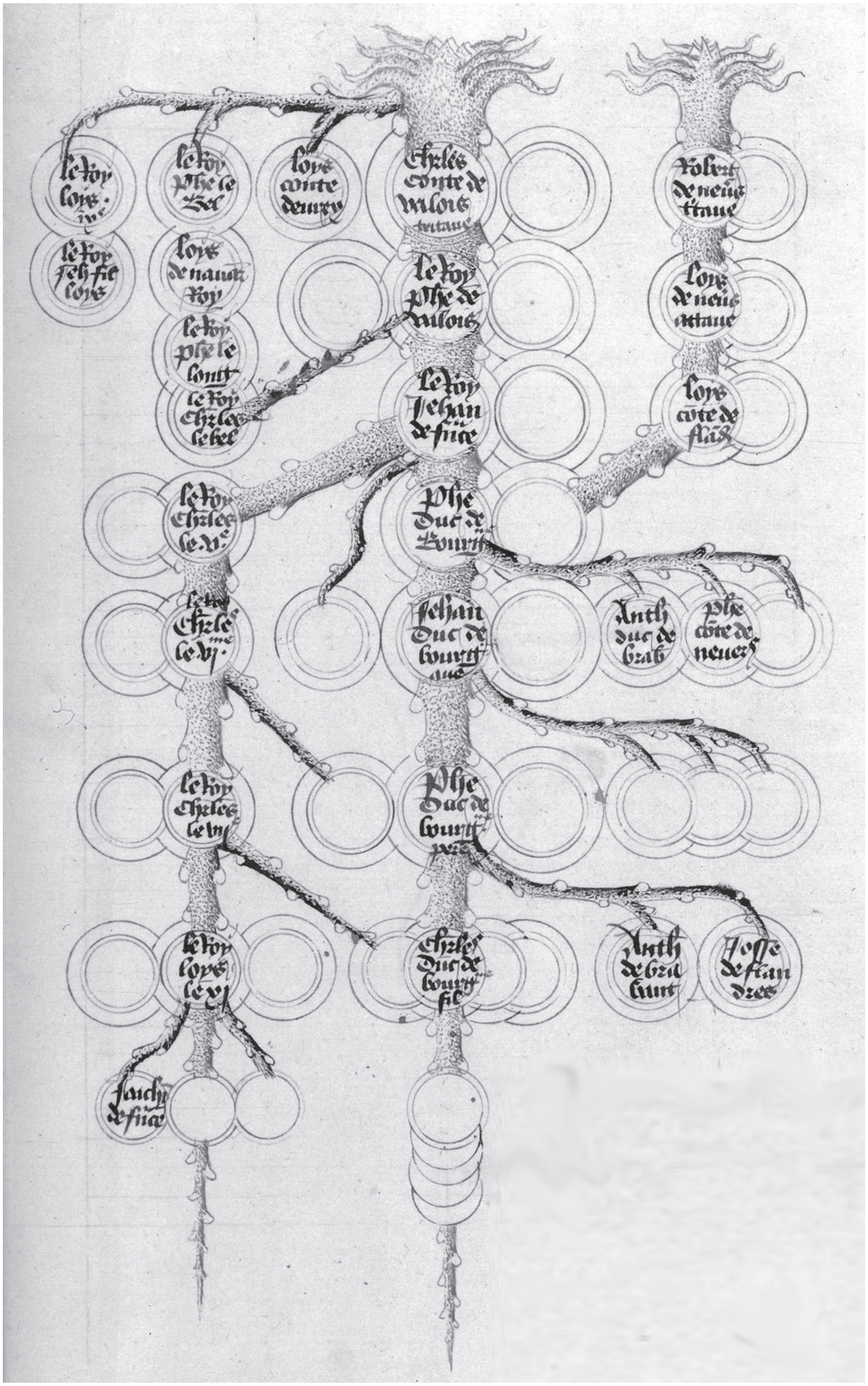
le roy loys .x.e
le roy phe le bel
loys conte deureux
Chles conte de valois
Robert de neuf chastel
le roy Jehan fils loys
loys de navarre roy
le roy phe de valois
loys de neuf chastel
le roy phe le long
le roy Chles le bel
le roy Jehan de frãce
loys cote de flãd
le roy Chles le v.e
Phe duc de bourg
le roy Chles le vj.me
Jehan duc de bourgõgne
Anth duc de brab
Phe cote de nevers
le roy Chles le vij
Phe duc de bourg
le roy loys le xj
Chles duc de bourg fil
Anth de brabant
Josse de flandres
Jachq de frãce

Figure 4.11. 'Charles count of Valois to Charles the Bold, duke of Burgundy', Jean Miélot, translation of the *Compilatio librorum historialum totius biblie*, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS fr. 17001, fol. 98r. 1470–72. Photo courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France.

Experiments in the Late Middle Ages

The same constraint applies to a simple pen sketch of a fairly realistic tree trunk found in a copy of the works of the political writer Jean Juvénal des Ursins (Figure 4.9).[52] Placed in the branches are medallions representing three branches of the descendants of Philippe III who were rivals for the throne in the Hundred Years War, and as usual, the ancestor is on top.

Some designers did consider the implications of the logical contradiction between the direction of botanical trees and that of a standard genealogical diagram.[53] Their solution was literally to reverse the problem: put the tree upside down! In France, this expedient was adopted by Jean Miélot, a secretary to the dukes of Burgundy. In 1460 he abridged and translated the *Compilatio librorum historialum totius biblie*, a universal chronicle composed by the Franciscan friar Giovanni da Udine in the mid-fourteenth century based on the Peter of Poitiers model.[54] The original *Compilatio* was in roll format with a standard diagram starting with Adam and Eve at the top.[55] Miélot was writing in a codex, and he alternated drawings, various diagrams, genealogical figures, and text.[56] He preceded his translation with various introductory texts, including a section entitled: 'How a genealogical tree ought to be painted and drawn with its root towards the sky and its branches facing downwards'.[57] In this, he states that this was a principle proposed by Boccaccio.[58] This is confirmed in Boccaccio's *Genealogie deorum gentilium*, where he indeed states that 'in the tree, at the top is placed [*the ancestor's name*], with the roots towards the sky, [...] and his descendants in the branches and leaves'.[59]

The genealogical trees drawn by Boccaccio and Miélot see this principle put into practice. Boccaccio's trees are fairly stylized, starting with a medallion containing the ancestor's name at the top, from which emerge branches covered with small roundels or leaves, each containing a name of a descendant, down to the bottom of the page (Figure 4.10).[60] Miélot's trees are slightly more realistic, in that he draws the roots at the top, from which descend branches interrupted by circles with names (Figure 4.11). However, this attempt at botanical realism does make his trees look distinctly odd. It is probably not surprising that this idea was not widely pursued and that even today, when the conceit of the vegetal tree is used to illustrate a genealogical diagram, one regularly finds the main descendant placed in the trunk, with the ancestors branching up above.

Conclusion

This brief descriptive overview of the genealogical trees representing the French royal dynasties shows how varied were the means chosen by their authors to convey both basic genealogical information and a political message. Visually, the diagrams ranged from simple geometric figures to more or less successful depictions of botanical trees. The term 'tree' was (and is still) used for genealogical structures even though some did not appear tree-like at all. This underlines how much the tree was a suggestive symbol, with its undertones of growth, procreation, and relationships. Those diagrams that did take on an arboreal form, even when image and content logically contradicted each other, confirm the potency of the tree concept. By using graphical formats, writers and artists were able to add value to the information they provided and to create new layers of interpretation. Seeing is believing, and visual aids made the historical 'facts' more evident (from *e-videre*) and credible. The resultant trees would repay further investigation as witnesses of their authors' views and of their designers' attempts to construct history and express concepts in symbolic and visual forms.

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[52] Paris, BNF, MS fr. 5038, fol. 45^v.

[53] Klapisch-Zuber, *L'Ombre des ancêtres*, pp. 229–50, devotes an entire chapter to the *arbor conversa* (inverted tree).

[54] Klapisch-Zuber, *L'Ombre des ancêtres*, pp. 146–47, pl. 20; Vizkelety, 'Zur Überlieferung der Weltchronik'; Worm, 'Iohannes de Utino', fig. 37.

[55] An example is London, BL, MS Egerton 1518 (known as *Summa de aetatibus*) viewable online at <http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/record.asp?MSID=18412&CollID=28&NStart=1518>, which even has a stylized vegetal crown of a tree at the top (for a reproduction see also previous note).

[56] Paris, BNF, MS fr. 17001, fols 36^v–98^r.

[57] Paris, BNF, MS fr. 17001, fol. 32^r: 'Comment ung arbre de genealogie doit estre paint et pourtrait la racine envers le ciel et le tronc et les branches en bas'. The passage is published by Mombello, 'Per la fortuna del Boccaccio in Francia', pp. 432–33.

[58] On Miélot as translator, and his links with Boccaccio, see Mombello, 'Per la fortuna del Boccaccio in Francia', pp. 428–29, and Schoysman, 'Jean Miélot, Jean Boccace et les généalogies', pp. 486–87.

[59] 'in arbore [...] ponitur in culmine [*ancestor's name*], versa in caelum radice, [...] et in ramis et in frondibus ab eo descendentibus': Giovanni Boccaccio, *Tutte le opere*, ed. by Branca, VII–VIII: *Genealogie deorum gentilium*, 1, ed. by Vittorio Zaccaria (1998), p. 68, and a similar quote p. 60, section 47. This edition does not show Boccaccio's trees; see Giovanni Boccaccio, *[Peri genealogias] deorum*, for a printed edition of the diagrams.

[60] Klapisch-Zuber, *L'Ombre des ancêtres*, pp. 242–45 on Boccaccio's trees, pl. 33; Klapisch-Zuber, *L'Arbre des familles*, p. 59. Klapisch-Zuber, 'The Genesis of the Family Tree', p. 125, fig. 22.

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THE MEDIEVAL TREE OF PORPHYRY: AN ORGANIC STRUCTURE OF LOGIC

Annemieke R. Verboon

Trees, wheels, columnar tables, and the human figure are all structures that can be visually compartmentalized, utilizing such natural divisions as branches and leaves, spokes and rings, pilasters and capitals, torso and limbs. As diagrammatic structures, these compartments become enclosed areas for the accommodation of verbal material, serving to illustrate the conceptual relationships between the various components and the relations between each part and the whole.

The tree in particular was considered an ideal metaphor for the visualization of relationships characterized by hierarchy and coherence.[1] The organic construction of trunk, branches, and leaves served to systematize the content, in a hierarchical ordering from large to small. The ramifying branches asserted an organic connection between the varieties of single, derived parts. In shaping knowledge in arboreal form, the author guides the reader from a general concept through a series of successively more specific concepts. Its structure indicates the relationships between the concepts and their position in the overall hierarchy. The simplicity and ubiquity of the dichotomous tree form seems self-evident. Because of its self-explanatory appearance the symbiosis of theory and image is often taken for granted and accepted as the product of a mental operation.

This essay does not take the tree form of the tree diagrams as self-explanatory, but poses the question as to why the so-called Tree of Porphyry diagram should be a tree diagram and how the tree form 'improves' the working of the visual structure. The Tree of Porphyry was a plain, traditional diagram that accompanied medieval logic since the sixth century, first in Boethius's commentary on the *Isagoge*, and later, in the thirteenth century, in Peter of Spain's *Tractatus*.[2] Taking a semiotic approach, Umberto Eco provides valuable observations on the Tree of Porphyry.[3] He studied the ancient and medieval theory of genera, species, and differences and effected numerous visual reconstructions. Most of these visual renderings, however, are not historical but modern reconstructions; they are interpretations without medieval counterparts. By contrast, Ian Hacking and Michael Evans present images of the Tree of Porphyry, reassembling actual illustrations from illuminated manuscripts. Hacking dealt with the figure from the perspective of a logician, analysing its structural coherence using logic theory.[4] It is surprising, that although Hacking is not a medievalist, the majority of his examples, conceived a priori as a logician, coincide accurately with historical examples in medieval and early modern

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[1] The tree structure was highly favoured in early modern times to describe the epistemology of different disciplines. See for the use of tree diagrams in the early modern period Siegel, *Tabula*; Siegel, 'Wissen, das auf Bäumen wächst'. See also Berns, 'Baumsprache und Sprachbaum'.

[2] For the early history of the Tree of Porphyry, notably in Boethius's commentary on and translation of the *Isagoge*, see Verboon, 'Lines of Thought'; Verboon, 'Einen alten Baum verpflanzt man nicht'.

[3] Eco, *Semiotics and the Philosophy of Language*.

[4] Hacking, 'Trees of Logic, Trees of Porphyry'. I thank Ian Hacking for his encouragement and his invitation to lecture about the Tree of Porphyry at the Collège de France in Paris when my research on the Tree of Porphyry was at a preliminary stage. Jaap Mansfeld likewise reconstructed many ancient logical doctrines, in Mansfeld, *Heresiography in Context*.

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The Tree: Symbol, Allegory, and Mnemonic Device in Medieval Art and Thought, ed. by Pippa Salonius and Andrea Worm, IMR 20 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014)
pp. 95–116
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manuscripts. The art historian Michael Evans studied the motif of the dichotomy in the Tree of Porphyry on a single manuscript example in the broader context of his groundbreaking article on 'the geometry of the mind'.[5]

This paper aims to describe multiple Trees of Porphyry as encountered mainly in thirteenth- and fourteenth-century manuscript copies of the *Tractatus*, from a historical perspective. The dissemination of diagrams of the Tree of Porphyry reached a high point when Peter of Spain used the diagram in his *Tractatus*. As a systematic manual, Peter's *Tractatus* was composed to meet the needs of the public and the objectives of the university. It belonged to a literature familiar to continental students of the 'artes liberales', who found the *Tractatus* a helpful systematic supplement in their study of the 'old logic'.[6] About four hundred copies of the *Tractatus* are known to have survived, and half the copies contain a drawing of the Tree of Porphyry. Several historical diagrams will be analysed here in relation to the *Tractatus*, as well as other texts (notably manuscript copies of Boethius's works in logic), and contextualized in their thirteenth- and fourteenth-century educational setting. A first concern will be to describe the theory of logic presented in the Tree of Porphyry. Then I will deal with the visualization of the diagram as a tree. Subsequently, I will discuss certain aspects of the tree diagram which were not suited to expressing this particular theory of logic. Finally, I will turn to the question of how the tree diagram works for the Tree of Porphyry and how it fits in with the general tendency towards tree diagrams in the later Middle Ages.

The Tree of Porphyry

Logic is the art of reasoning, and as reasoning is conducted through language, the study of logic must begin with an examination of terms and their functions. Logic leads us from one truth to another, and language is shaped to state these truths.[7] As such, logic is the preparation for all the other sciences and, as such, every scholar in medieval Europe knew this diagram called the Tree of Porphyry and the corresponding theory by heart.

As a part of the 'old logic', the Tree of Porphyry was studied long before the New Aristotle arrived in the Latin West, and its study continued after the introduction of the *logica modernorum* in the thirteenth century.[8] The 'old logic' (*logica vetus* in Latin) consisted of a corpus of books known to the early Middle Ages, which included the *Categoriae* of Aristotle, Porphyry's *Isagoge*, translated by Boethius, and Boethius's commentary on the *Isagoge*. By 1159 the entire 'new logic' (*logica nova*) was in place, consisting of the rest of the recovered and translated logic oeuvre of Aristotle. The set of books of both the 'old' and the 'new logic' formed the point of departure for logical inquiry and original work beginning in the thirteenth century. The *logica modernorum* is the title for the resulting logic created by medieval scholars.[9] Among these works is the *Tractatus (Summulae logicales)* of Peter of Spain, written in the early thirteenth century.

Peter of Spain came to Paris around 1220 as a young boy, probably at the age of fifteen, to study the *artes* and theology at the University of Paris.[10] After a riot between residents of the university and the municipal authorities in 1229, the masters suspended their lectures. When this turned out to be ineffective, they decided that nobody was allowed to reside in Paris for studies for a period of six years. Many students and masters left Paris for the rising universities of Oxford and Cambridge or small *studia generalia* during this academic strike. Peter of Spain left for Léon, where he taught logic and presumably wrote his *Tractatus*.[11] It has been suggested that Peter of Spain wrote the *Tractatus* for students at Salamanca. Another hypothesis is that it was meant to instruct the children of a nobleman at the court of Castile and Léon.[12] In the *Tractatus* Peter avoided difficult philosophical questions and employed common parlance, and as such, the *Tractatus* is indeed a manual that provides an introduction for beginners. At any rate, the treatise arrived in Paris in the 1260s/1270s.[13]

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[5] Evans, 'The Geometry of the Mind'.

[6] De Libera, 'The Oxford and Paris Traditions in Logic', pp. 177–78; Beckmann, 'Logik'.

[7] Ashworth, 'Language and Logic', pp. 77–78.

[8] The 'New Aristotle' is the corpus of Aristotelian texts translated from the later twelfth century onwards from Greek and Arabic versions. Until the twelfth century, Aristotle was largely unknown, except for his works in logic. Lohr, 'The Medieval Interpretation of Aristotle', p. 83.

[9] Ashworth, 'Language and Logic', p. 75.

[10] Peter of Spain, *Tractatus*, ed. by De Rijk, pp. xxx–xxxi.

[11] Peter of Spain, *Tractatus*, ed. by De Rijk, pp. xxxiv–xxxv, lix. For discussion of the identification of Peter of Spain, see Peter of Spain, *Tractatus*, ed. by De Rijk; D'Ors, 'Petrus Hispanus O.P., Auctor Summularum'; Tugwell, 'Petrus Hispanus'; D'Ors, 'Petrus Hispanus O.P., Auctor Summularum (II)'; D'Ors, 'Petrus Hispanus O.P., Auctor Summularum (III)'; Tugwell, 'Auctor Summularum'.

[12] Peter of Spain, *Tractatus*, ed. by De Rijk, pp. lix–lxi.

[13] According to De Rijk the *Tractatus* was composed in the Iberian Peninsula and could not have reached Paris before the 1260s. The old-

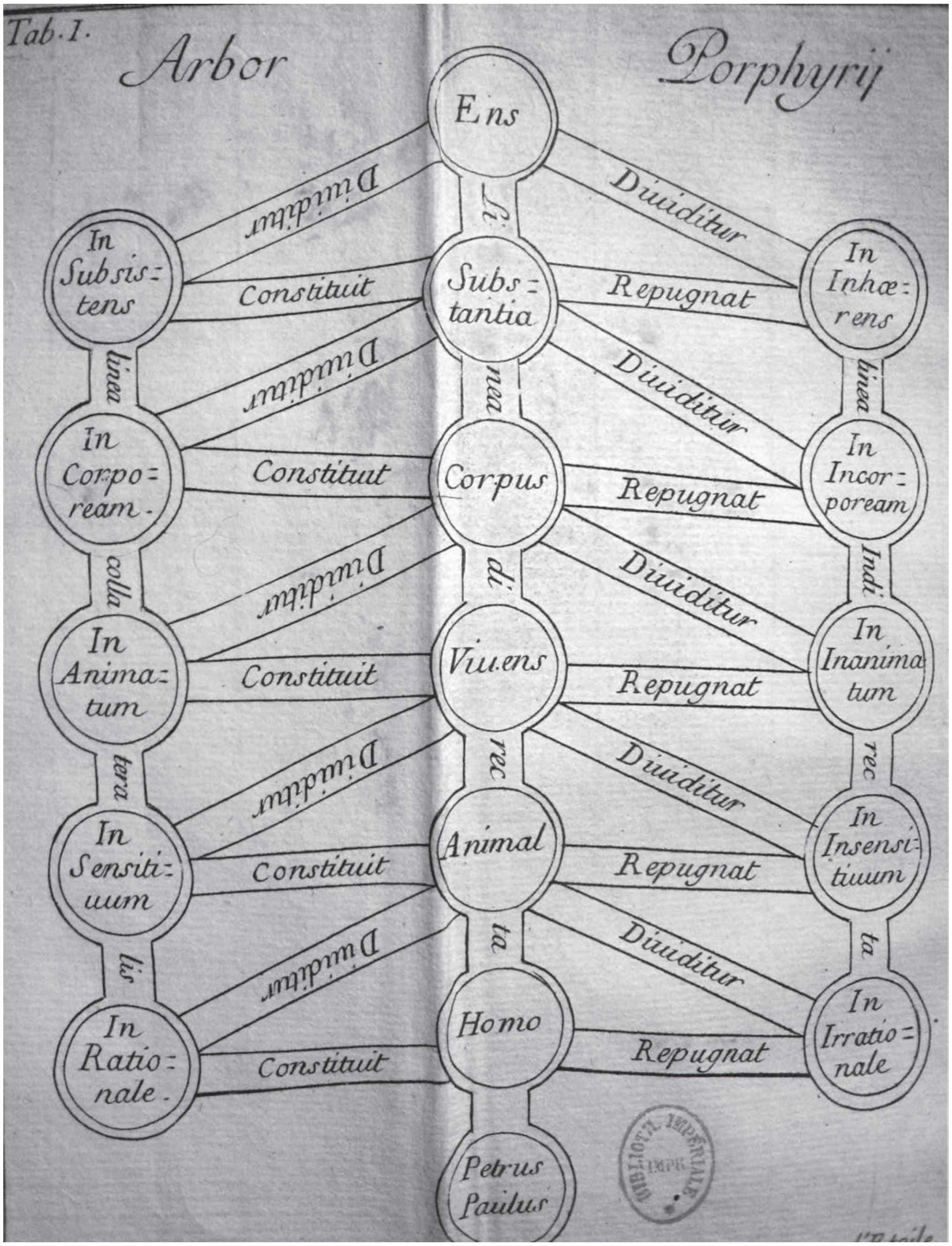
Tab. 1.
Arbor Porphyrij
Ens
Diuiditur
Diuiditur
In Subsistens
Constituit
Substantia
Repugnat
In Inhærens
linea
Diuiditur
Diuiditur
linea
In Corpoream.
Constituit
Corpus
Repugnat
In Incorpoream
colla
Diuiditur
Diuiditur
Indi
In Animatum
Constituit
Viuens
Repugnat
In Inanimatum
tera
Diuiditur
Diuiditur
rec
In Sensitiuum
Constituit
Animal
Repugnat
In Insensitiuum
lis
Diuiditur
Diuiditur
ta
In Rationale.
Constituit
Homo
Repugnat
In Irrationale
Li
nea
di
rec
ta
Petrus Paulus

Figure 5.1.
'Edmond Pourchot's Tree of Porphyry', Edmond Pourchot, *Institutiones philosophicae ad faciliorem veterum et recentiorum philosophorum intelligentiam comparatae* (Leiden: Antonius Boudet, 1711), Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Res. 47782. Photo courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France.

With four hundred surviving manuscript copies of which at least 40 per cent contain a drawing of the Tree of Porphyry, a 'standard' Tree of Porphyry does not exist.[14] Modern editions in Tree of Porphyry entries in dictionaries show either a single historical copy or edit and stylize the drawing according to modern taste.

In the effort to identify a representative copy, the difficulty arises as to which one should be taken as typical. The *Enzyklopädie Philosophie und Wissenschaftstheorie* shows a historical example as well as a stylized modern edition of the Tree of Porphyry. The historical tree

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est copies date from 1260–70 and were found in the oldest Parisian library collections, which makes it plausible that the treatise was successfully introduced in this time to Paris. In Italy the *Tractatus* enjoyed much fame, whereas in the Holy Roman Empire the book gained popularity only later, from the mid-fourteenth century on. In contrast the text was hardly noticed in England. Peter of Spain, *Tractatus*, ed. by De Rijk, pp. xxi, xliii–xliv, xcviii–xcix. For the history of the oldest copies of the *Tractatus*, see De Rijk, 'On the Genuine Text'.

[14] The percentage is based on a survey of seventy consulted manuscripts.

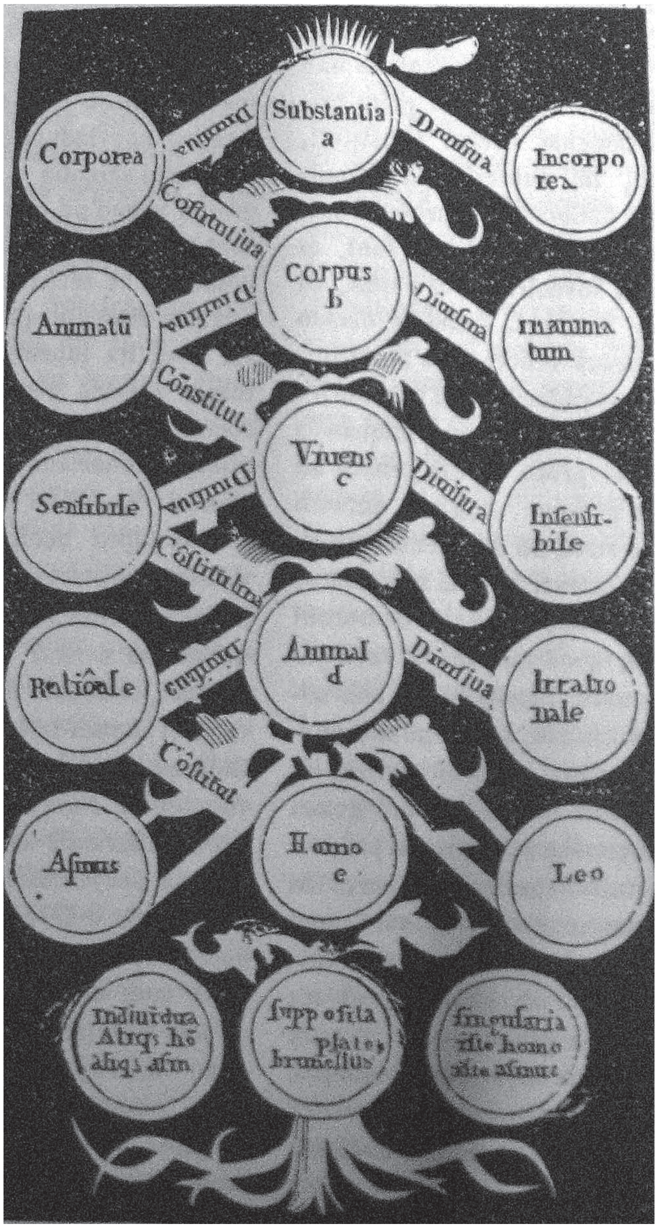

Figure 5.2. 'Boethius's Tree of Porphyry according to J.-P. Migne', Jacques-Paul Migne, *Patrologia latina*, 221 vols, LXIV (Paris: Garnier-Migne, 1844–55; repr. Turnhout: Brepols 1985–97), (1847; repr. 1997), cols 41–42.

inserted is derived from Edmond Pourchot's *Institutiones Philosophicae* dating from 1730, an example which dates to about a millennium later than its original conception in Boethius's work (Figure 5.1).[15] Pourchot's example is an elaborated version, which includes inferences on the left part of the tree.[16] Migne, in the *Patrologia Latina*, also provides an early modern printed example of the diagram to accompany Boethius's commentary on the *Isagoge* and his Dialogue, anachronistically.[17] The source Migne took these diagrams from is unknown (Figure 5.2). In other cases, the figure was published as part of editions of the text. But how should one edit a diagrammatic drawing? De Rijk, in his edition of the *Tractatus* of Peter of Spain, gives a basic edition of the Tree of Porphyry diagram, consisting of compartments and lines, similar to the schematic rendering provided here (Figure 5.3).[18] De Rijk's Tree of Porphyry is subsequently found in the *Enzyklopädie Philosophie und Wissenschaftstheorie* as *the* Tree of Porphyry.[19] This demonstrates how quickly editions become canonized and considered as a faithful rendering of historical texts and diagrams. The *Historisches Wörterbuch der Philosophie* gives a stylized edition of the Tree of Porphyry and describes it as an economized tabulation of written concepts with a minimum of lines of inference, represented as a tree with canopy and roots.[20] Boethius's translation of the *Isagoge* as edited by Minio-Palluello does not show any diagram.[21]

It will come as no surprise to the reader that none of these diagrams resemble the original Trees of Porphyry found in medieval manuscripts. Although not historically faithful, modern editions of historical diagrams are nonetheless useful devices to explain the structure of the Tree of Porphyry to those unfamiliar with the topic (Figure 5.3).

The Tree of Porphyry in Peter's *Tractatus* is generally embedded in the paragraph on *De specie*, in the second book of the *De predicabilibus*:

> For this to be clearer, we employ the example of one predicate. Substance is a first genus; under which is body; under body the animated body; under which is animal; under animal the rational animal; under which is man;

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[15] Schroeder, 'Arbor porphyriana', pp. 152–54.

[16] Edmond Pourchot, *Institutiones philosophicae*. The *Enzyklopädie Philosophie und Wissenschaftstheorie* used the edition from 1730. I consulted the 1711 edition (by Antonius Boudet, Leiden), with the same diagram (Paris, BNF, Res. 47782). I also consulted the 1733 edition, printed by the brothers Bruyset in Leiden (Paris, BNF, Res. 2036), with a more elaborate and naturalistic version of the Tree of Porphyry. Pourchot also developed an *Arbor Purchitiana* (1711) and an *Arbor Purchotii ad mentem Platonis et Cartesianorum* (1733), the picture of which is inserted after the *Arbor Porphyrii secundum doctrinam Aristotelis et Peripateticorum*; both are found in the tables following the text.

[17] Boetius, *In Porphyrium dialogi*, cols 41–42; Boetius, *Commentaria in Porphyrium*, col. 103.

[18] Peter of Spain, *Tractatus*, ed. by De Rijk, p. 20.

[19] Schroeder, 'Arbor porphyriana', p. 153.

[20] Baumgartner, 'Arbor Porphyriana, porphyrischer Baum'.

[21] Boethius, *Isagoge translatio*, ed. by Minio-Paluello.

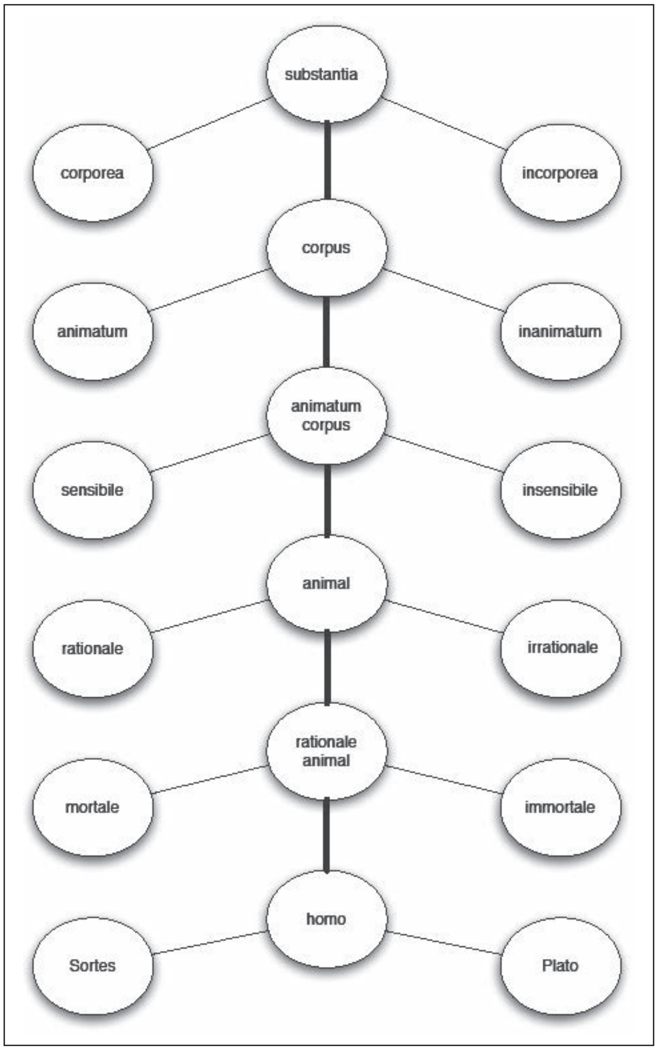

Figure 5.3. 'Schematic Rendering of the Tree of Porphyry', drawn by the author.

> under man are individuals, like Socrates and Plato and Cicero. [...] And all this is shown in a figure called the Tree of Porphyry.[22]

The Tree of Porphyry deals with defining 'species' and 'genera'. 'Genus' and 'species' are 'essential' *praedicabilia*, because they describe an essential relation of a predicate to a subject. With help of *praedicabilia* one could define the relationship between the predicate and its subject, a predicate being that part of a sentence that serves to describe or characterize a subject. A 'species' then described the being in its entirety (for example 'rationality' for a 'human being'), while a 'genus' described what a being has in common with other beings of the same species (for example 'animated' for a 'human being', which characteristic it shares with animals and trees). The genus 'animated body' (*corpus animatum*) therefore comprises human beings, animals, and vegetation. The *differentia specifica* makes a distinction in which species differ from their common genus; for example, the application of the predicate 'being reasonable' to human beings serves to distinguish man from cows and plants.

In its most basic form, the diagram consists of a column of terms connected to each other by lines. The highest term in the column is 'substance' (*substantia*). Its division into 'bodily' and 'non-bodily' substances is then stated through a pair of derivative branches. The 'bodily' (*corporalis*) species of 'substance' (comprising rocks, plants, and animated subjects) is then posited as the genus of 'animated bodies' (*animatum corpus*), like plants and animals. An 'animated body' is in turn the genus for 'animated substances capable of perception' (*animal sensibile*), like animals, but not plants. 'Animated bodies capable of perception' are the genus for 'rational animated bodies' (*animal rationale*), like human beings but not animals. 'Rational animated substances' form the genus for 'mortal' and 'immortal animated bodies'.[23] Finally, 'mortal animated bodies', as a species of 'rational animated bodies', coincide with 'man' (*homo*). 'Man' is thus the most specified species in this series, further specifiable only into individuals, like Plato, Socrates, and Cicero. The central column therefore features those species which can in turn become a genus for the subsequent, subaltern row. The different species within a genus appear in the side columns. Note that terms are differentiated only in the left column. The diæresis of the genus is therefore dichotomous and works with single *differentiae*. The second member of the pair is the negation or privation of the first. In other words, the terms are contradicting differences and though the right column of incorporeal substances is also hypothetically expandable, such a move would only result in a negative enumeration and in practice was never done.

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[22] 'Ut autem istud sit magis planum, sumatur exemplum in uno predicamento. Ut substantia est genus primum; sub hac autem corpus; sub corpore corpus animatum; sub quo animal; sub animali animal rationale; sub quo homo; sub homine sunt individua, ut Sortes et Plato et Cicero, et hec omnia patent in figura, que dicitur arbor Porphirii': Peter of Spain, *Tractatus*, ed. by De Rijk, 'De specie' II.9.26–11, pp. 19–20.

[23] Interestingly, the division between mortal and immortal is not made by Porphyry or Peter of Spain. The diagrammatic representation however insists on this division. The source is to be found in Boethius's translation of the *Isagoge*, in the section 'De differentia' 10.3–10.9 (and not in 'De specie').

The figure is introduced as an example of the procedure of division, taking 'substance' as the specific case. But, at least in theory, ten Trees of Porphyry are possible, with the name of a different category on top, for 'substance' is only one of the ten Aristotelian categories. The other nine categories are 'quantity', 'quality', 'relation', 'place', 'time', 'posture', 'state', 'action', and 'passion'. If these ten trees were drawn up, they would comprise all sorts of possible entities in the cosmos. Every such categorical name would stand at the top of its own series, none being subordinate or reducible to another.

'Substance', however, is not just a random example. 'Substance' is the first and most fundamental mode of being and is on this account essentially distinct from the nine others, which express accidental modes of being. One of the most important tasks of logic was after all to study the notion of the 'essence' of a given thing, as substantiated by its 'substance', or 'being'.[24]

Visualizations of the Tree of Porphyry: Drawing Branches and Leaves

The earliest surviving Trees of Porphyry date from the ninth century until the twelfth century, in the manuscript copies of Boethius's translation of the *Isagoge* and his commentary on it. They were not designed in the form of real trees: they have no trunk, branches, leaves, flowers, or even the slightest vegetation that could remind the reader/viewer of a tree.[25] This changed in the thirteenth century. Next to the paragraph about the *De specie*, in which Peter of Spain, the thirteenth-century scholar, described the definition of 'man' (as cited above), the author announced his figure with the words 'And all this shows in a figure that is being called Tree of Porphyry'.[26] This is the first time that the figure was explicitly called the 'Tree of Porphyry'. Alongside the explicit naming of the figure as the Tree of Porphyry, the diagram figuratively became a tree. This introduction of vegetative ornaments to the Tree of Porphyry occurred during the thirteenth century in the newly composed *Tractatus*.[27]

Hermann Schadt suggested in his study on the use of tree schemata in legal contexts that twelfth-century Trees of Porphyry show evidence of some abstract, vegetative ornaments, but that only in the fifteenth century was the Tree of Porphyry really drawn as a tree.[28] This process, however, took place over a shorter period, since fully realized tree figures were already extant in the thirteenth century, as the following examples will demonstrate.

A lavishly drawn Tree of Porphyry, with a trunk, branches, and a leafy canopy, appears in a copy of the *Tractatus* once owned by Gerard of Abbeville (1225–72), who left it to the library of the Sorbonne at the disposal of students.[29] This copy dates from the thirteenth century and has remained in the holdings of the Sorbonne ever since (Figure 5.4). The leaves are drawn to accommodate the text. The figure is somewhat untidy: the draughtsman erroneously placed branches carrying the inscriptions 'corporeal' and 'incorporeal' above 'substantia'. Two pairs of branches below he tried to correct his mistake by skipping a pair of leaves. Because of this correction he came out short a pair of branches at the bottom of the figure and had to leave out the names of Socrates and Plato. The tendency to visually expand the diagrammatic tree into an image occurred not only in the *Tractatus* of Peter of Spain but also in the figures for Boethius's *Isagoge* translation.[30] Another beautiful example, now kept in London, also shows roots, a trunk, leaves, and a top (Figure 5.5).[31] In this example the con-

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[24] Mansfeld, *Heresiography in Context*, pp. 78–79, 89, 91.

[25] For a detailed account on the iconographic history of the Tree of Porphyry in the manuscript copies of Boethius's *Isagoge* and his commentary, Jepa, and Peter of Spain's *Tractatus*, see Verboon, 'Lines of Thought'; Verboon, 'Einen alten Baum verpflanzt man nicht'.

[26] 'Et hec omnia patent in figura, que dicitur arbor Porphirii': Peter of Spain, *Tractatus*, ed. by De Rijk, 'De specie' II.11, p. 20.

[27] The Tree of Porphyry as drawn in Peter of Spain's *Tractatus* was also frequently designed in the form of a human figure which stands behind the diagram, holding or encapsulating it. For a more detailed account of the anthropomorphic Tree of Porphyry, see Verboon, 'Lines of Thought', chap. 2.

[28] Schadt, *Die Darstellungen der Arbores consanguinitatis und der Arbores affinitatis*, pp. 82–83. Schadt's example of an early Tree of Porphyry with vegetative ornaments from the Vatican collection, Rome, BAV, MS Ottob. lat. 1406, fol. 32^r, is not a Tree of Porphyry, but a dichotomous diagram departing from 'habere' instead of 'substantia'; see Schadt, *Die Darstellungen der Arbores consanguinitatis und der Arbores affinitatis*, p. 82, fig. 22.

[29] 'Iste liber est collegii pauperum magistrorum parisiensium in theologiae facultate studentium ex legato magistri Geroudi de Abbatisvilla': Paris, BNF, MS lat. 16611.

[30] Some examples of 'vegetative' Trees of Porphyry in manuscript copies of Boethius's text are London, BL, MS Burney 275, fol. 166^r; Paris, BNF, MS lat. 6289, fol. 3^r; Paris, BNF, MS nouv. acq. lat. 209, fol. 5^v; Paris, Bib. de l'Arsenal, MS 728, fol. 2^r; Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 235, fol. 2^v; Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 5199, fol. 17^v; Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 5196, fol. 15^r.

[31] London, BL, MS Royal 8. A. XVIII; Murdoch, *Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, p. 50, fig. 43.

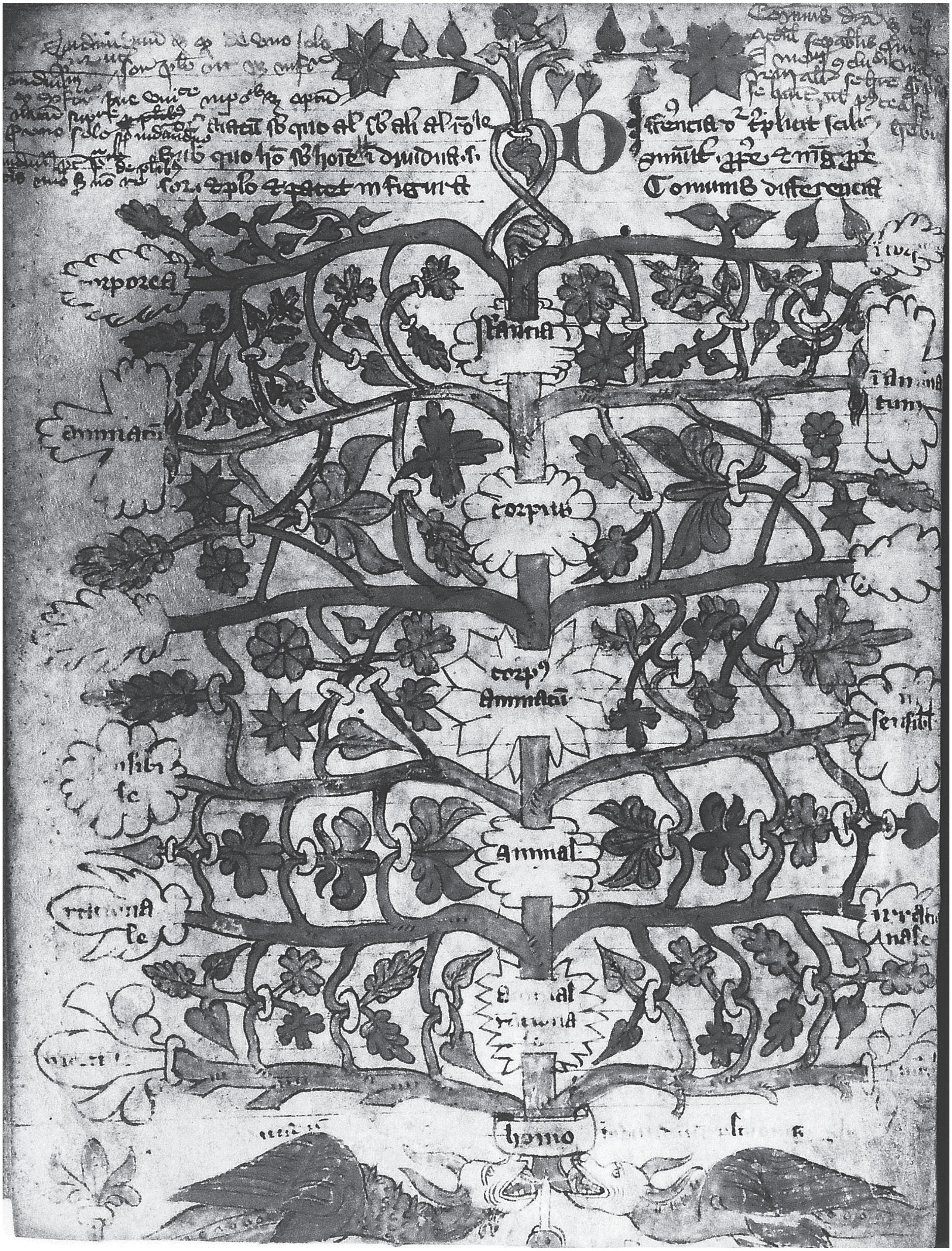
Communis differencia
corpus
animal
homo

Figure 5.4. 'Tree of Porphyry', Peter of Spain, *Tractatus*, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 16611, fol. 8^{v}. Thirteenth century. Photo courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France.

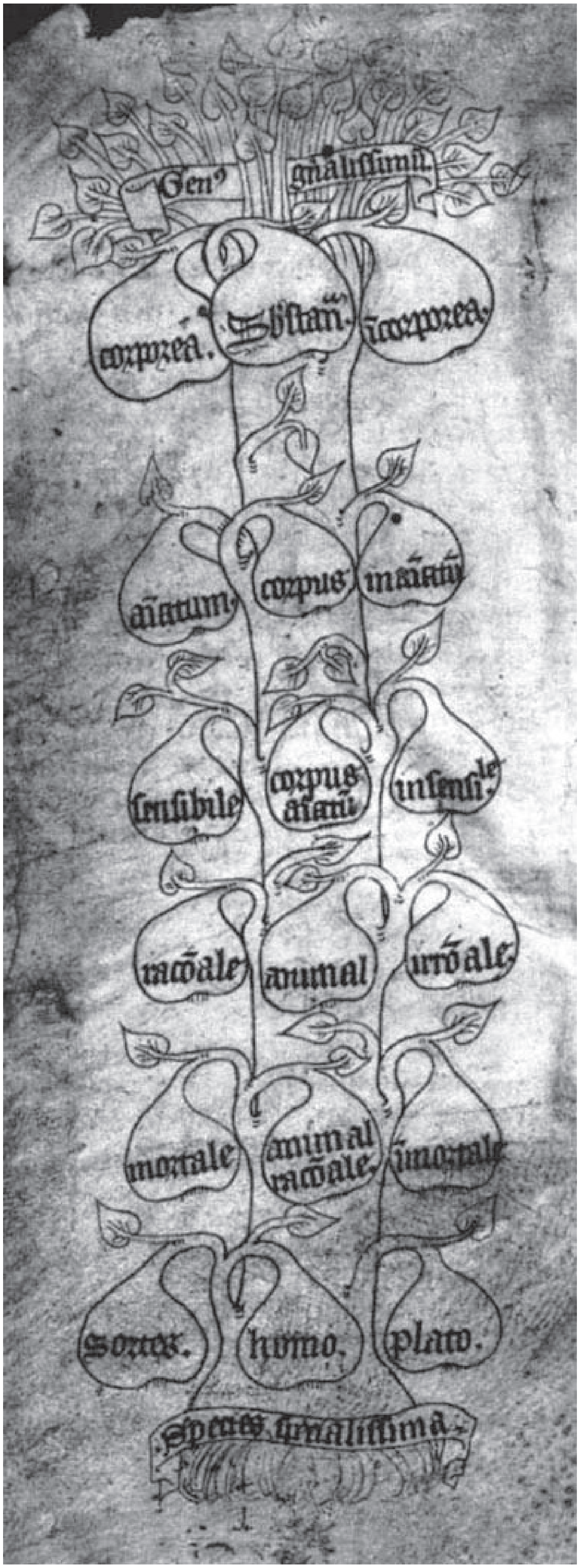
Gen9 gnalissimu
corpzea.
Substan.
incorpzea.
aiatum.
corpus
inaiatu
sensibile
corpus aiatu
insensi'le
racoale
animal
irroale.
mortale
animal racoale.
imortale
sortes.
homo.
plato.
species specialissima.

Figure 5.5. 'Tree of Porphyry', Boethius, *Isagoge* translation, London, British Library, MS Royal 8. A. XVIII, fol. 3^{v}. Fourteenth century. Photo courtesy of the British Library.

cepts are written on enlarged leaves. Or is it fruit? The fruit of thought, or by contrast, fruit which, as an image of pleasure, overwhelms and obscures thought?[32] Several more examples of full tree figures of the Tree of Porphyry exist dating from the thirteenth century onwards.[33]

Structure of the Tree

All the same, there is an interesting parallel between the tree nomenclature and the visual tree metaphor, a parallel between the linguistic term and visual form. As seen above in the cited paragraph about *De specie*, there is no tree terminology in the *Tractatus* that invited the drawing of tree ornaments, other than the inscription 'Et hec omnia patent in figura, que dicitur "arbor porphirii"' (And all this shows in a figure that is being called the Tree of Porphyry). And, as mentioned above, this is the first time that the figure was called a tree. In Porphyry's *Isagoge*, Boethius's Latin translation, or commentaries, there is no evidence of tree nomenclature or tree terminology.[34] And indeed, no real 'tree' figures were found. The tree structure appeared only late in the iconographic history of the Tree of Porphyry: the concept of bipartition has always been an integral element of the diagram, but the branching metaphor only became associated with it from the thirteenth century onwards. It is somewhat different for the *arbor juris*, a juridical illustration dealing with blood ties between family members. The nomenclature of the *arbor juris* was already current in the tenth century,[35] but not the visual metaphor of the tree. The first vegetative juridical trees date to before the twelfth century.[36] Once Peter designated the figure as a tree, it began only to be drawn as a tree. The transformation caused several conflicts in the interpretation of the image. I shall indicate two conflicts between the *logic of the diagram* and the *logic of the tree*. The first is a problem of direction and the second is a problem of symmetry.

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[32] For the interpretation of the fruit in the *arbor philosophiae* as described by Theoldulph of Orleans, see Esmeijer, '*De VII liberalibus artibus in quadam pictura depictis*'; Cuissard, *Théodulfe. Évêque d'Orléans*, p. 250.

[33] Some examples of tree-shaped copies of the Tree of Porphyry in the *Tractatus* of Peter of Spain are Rome, Bib. Casanatense, MS 806, fol. 3^{r}; Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 2389, fol. 10^{v}; Pavia, Bib. Univ., MS Aldini 450, fol. 89^{v}; Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, MS 1039, fol. 166^{v}; Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 7658, fol. 203^{v}.

[34] For a detailed historical account about the textual tradition of the Tree of Porphyry, see Verboon, 'Lines of Thought', chap. 2.

[35] Klapisch-Zuber, *L'Ombre des ancêtres*, p. 37.

Conflicts in Direction

The Tree of Porphyry is organized from top to bottom. The most general concept 'substance' is hence placed on top, while the most specific concepts of individual men are placed at the bottom of the figure. An organic tree, however, grows from bottom to top, such that its ramification becomes more and more complex the further up it grows. The orientation of the branches mitigates the conflict between the upward growth of a real tree and the downward orientation of the Tree of Porphyry. Thus it has been asked: 'could a pine tree, with its drooping branches, fit the image of the Tree of Porphyry?' But the answer is no, for the conflict remains the same. Pine trees also grow from bottom to top and therefore, to fit in the image of a real tree, should have 'substance', the general genus, as its roots.

Alain de Libera decided that the Greek word *οὐσία* in Porphyry's *Isagoge* should better be translated as 'essence', and not with 'substance' (as Boethius did in his translation of the *Isagoge*) since: 'sa connotation "substrative" ou "sub-jective" contredit l'image spatiale de l'Arbre' (its 'substrative' or 'sub-jective' connotation contradicts the spatial image of the Tree).[37] It is indeed not obvious to place 'sub-stance' at the top of a tree. 'Essence', by contrast, does not have this connotation. It encounters nonetheless other objections. 'Essence' has the connotation of a 'core', which one should expect to be in the middle of something (for example in a circle diagram). Furthermore, the tree metaphor originated with Peter of Spain, who used Boethius's translation with 'substance'. The more correct Greek 'essence' has no textual-historical relation with the introduction of the tree metaphor of the Tree of Porphyry.

Internal conflicts and contradictions in tree metaphors occur frequently in the history of literature and arts. Plato described an inverted tree when he compared the human intellect with a plant that has its roots in the higher regions of heaven.[38] The inverted tree metaphor was also known to all three monotheistic religions, in which it symbolizes the growing knowledge of God as ascension from crown below to the roots above.[39] Giovanni Boccaccio (1313–75) featured a descending tree in the *De genealogia deorum gentilium* but was troubled by the contradiction between an upward-growing natural tree and the descending genealogical tree and stated 'versa in celum radice' (the roots are inverted to the heavens).[40] The *arbor sapientie* was also considered disturbingly inverted: 'A Johanne dicitur arbor versa, que habet radices in capite' (John said that the inverted tree has roots in its head).[41] Dante described the trees in the *Purgatorio* and *Paradiso* as being of unusual shape, branching wider as they rose higher.[42] His description invited commentators like Benvenuto da Imola, Sandro Botticelli, and Federico Frezzi to represent them as inverted trees, although Dante had not explicitly envisaged them as such.[43] The conflict between an upward-growing physical tree and the downward-oriented Tree of Porphyry was also observed by medieval draughtsmen. Some draughtsmen tried to cope with their conflicted feelings by drawing the branches 'growing' naturally upwards, while the concepts remain organized from top to bottom. See for example a manuscript copy kept in Wolfenbüttel: this fifteenth-century copy of the *Tractatus* shows an elaborate figure of a tree with a root,

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[36] Schadt, *Die Darstellungen der Arbores consanguinitatis und der Arbores affinitatis*, p. 84.

[37] Porphyry, *Isagoge*, ed. by De Libera and Segonds, p. 47, n. 45.

[38] Plato, *Timeaus*, trans. by. Cornford, 90a.

[39] For the concept of the inverted tree, see Eliade, *Traité d'histoire des religions*; Jacoby, 'Der Baum mit den Wurzeln'.

[40] Boccaccio, *De genealogia deorum gentilium*, ed. by Osgood, XV, 10. A fifteenth-century manuscript (Bruges, Archief van het grootseminarie, MS 154/44, fol. 13^v, *Seminarie*, not further specified by Ligtenberg), depicts the *Genealogia deorum* as an inverted tree with its roots in the air. However, the thirty-five gods sit upright in the branches of the tree. For a picture of this miniature, see Ligtenberg, 'De Genealogie van Christus', pp. 50–51. See also Wilkins, 'The Genealogy of the Genealogical Trees', p. 65; Watson, *The Early Iconography of the Tree of Jesse*, p. 45; Dewitte and Carlvant, *Vlaamse kunst op perkament*, no. 88; Busine and others, *Besloten wereld, open boeken*, no. 50.

[41] Rome, Bib. Casanatense, MS 1404, fol. 19^v. Cited in Wirth, 'Von mittelalterlichen Bildern und Lehrfiguren', *p.* 285. For a description of the many drawings in this manuscript, see Saxl, 'Aller Tugenden und Laster Abbildung'.

[42] Dante Alighieri, *Purgatorio*, in *The Divine Comedy*, ed. by Durling and Martinez, p. xxxii; Dante Alighieri, *Paradiso*, in *The Divine Comedy*, ed. by Durling and Martinez, p. xviii. See Ladner, 'Vegetation Symbolism', pp. 309–10.

[43] Ladner, 'Vegetation Symbolism', pp. 309–10, n. 30.

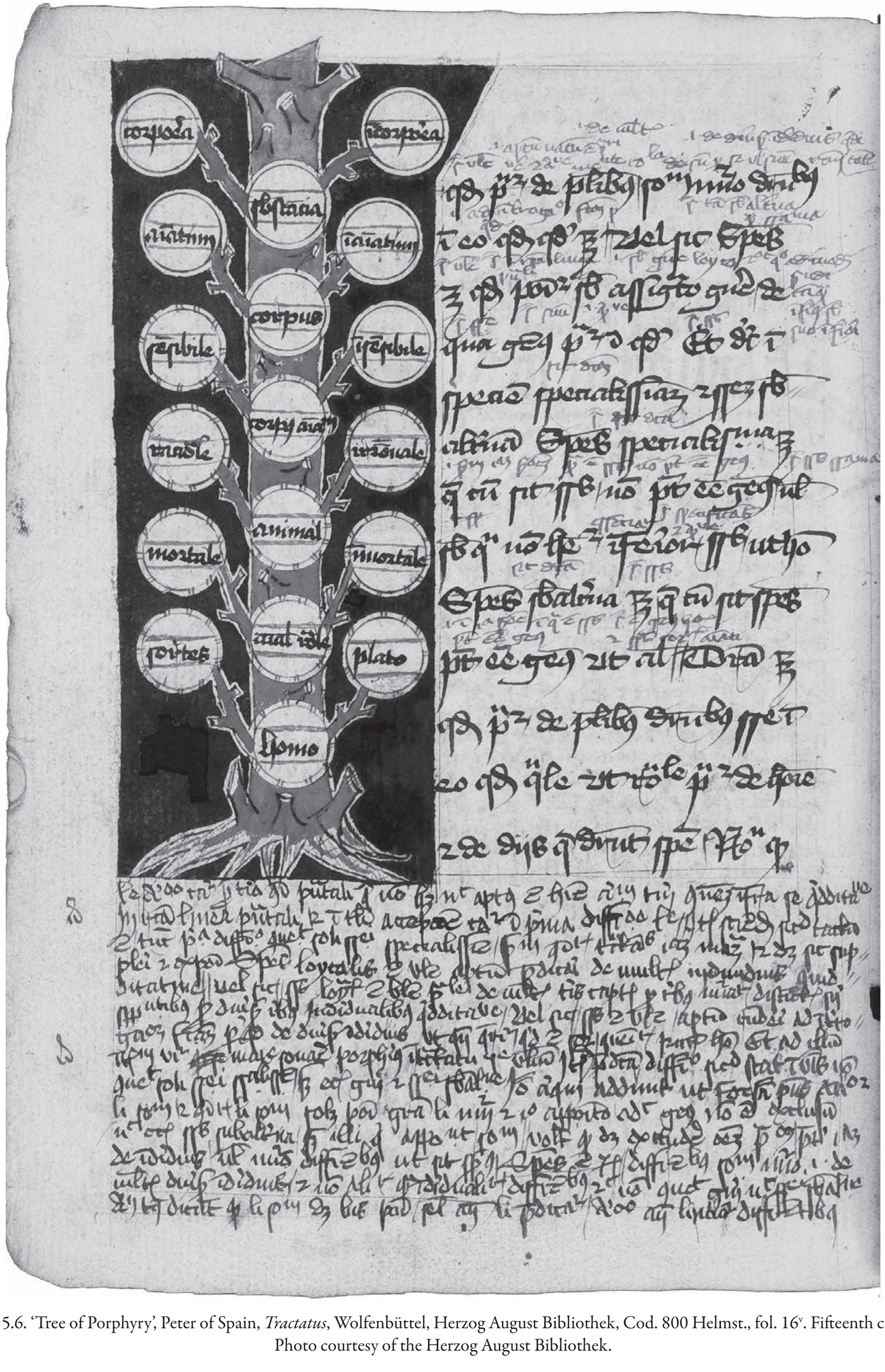
corporea
incorporea
substantia
animatum
inanimatum
corpus
sensibile
insensibile
corpus animatum
rationale
irrationale
animal
mortale
immortale
animal rationale
Sortes
plato
homo

Figure 5.6. 'Tree of Porphyry', Peter of Spain, *Tractatus*, Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. 800 Helmst., fol. 16ᵛ. Fifteenth century. Photo courtesy of the Herzog August Bibliothek.

branches, an axed crown, and medallions instead of leaves (Figure 5.6).[44] It is very difficult to 'read' the image properly: two lines originate in 'substance' and form the differences 'bodily' and 'not-bodily' but these are represented higher up the tree than their genus ('substance'). It is therefore unclear to what genus the differences lead. There are also examples in which a compromise is reached between a natural tree and a comprehensible logical diagram by drawing the branches horizontally. One of those examples is already seen in the copy Gerard of Abbeville left to the Sorbonne Library (Figure 5.4).

Conflicts in Symmetry

A second conflict, regarding the composition of the figure in relationship to the theory it illustrates, is the lateral and asymmetric reading direction of the two sides of the tree. The branches on either side of the trunk are antithetical: 'bodily' and 'not bodily', 'rational' and 'irrational', and so on. Antithetical branches should be read laterally, yet the theory of the Tree of Porphyry is asymmetric, which necessitates an inorganic reading of the lateral branches. Each of the pair of branches has a positive and a negative side. The negative side is in each case a blind alley: non-animated bodies, like stones and minerals, are the end of their series. So, although the Tree of Porphyry is drawn symmetrically, only the left side allows one to descend down the logical figure. This makes sense when we recall that the whole doctrinal debate of the Tree of Porphyry revolved around the definition of mankind and so leads directly towards mankind. The figure after all does not deal with the definition of horse, or plant, or even the difference between horse and plant, but with defining 'species' and 'genera'.[45]

In several copies the symmetry is yet further elaborated. Lines connect the blind alley back to the main column. In the left column these lines allow a correct inference, but reconnecting the right wing with the species below was useless, for these differences were purely negative. Such an attempt was nonetheless made by the draughtsman who drew dogs biting into the concepts in the right column, leading one back to the main column (Figure 5.7).[46] Presumably, these connections between the negative differences are drawn in an attempt to make the figure more self-supporting by indicating the direction of reading. Logically, however, they are incorrect.[47]

A rare but logically coherent figure appears in an eleventh-century copy of the commentary on the *Isagoge* by Boethius.[48] This figure describes the differences of substance and takes these as a description for the species (Figure 5.8).[49] Substances are shown as either 'bodily' or 'non-bodily'; 'bodily substances' in turn are either 'animated' or 'unanimated' (such as stone and metal); the 'animated' ones are either 'sensible' or else 'not sensible' (such as plants). Below, the draughtsman wrote something which was later erased and should read that 'sensible animated bodies' are either 'rational' or 'irrational' (the latter of which are animals). Next, the 'sensible animated bodies' are either 'mortal' or 'immortal', of which the latter are such as the (pagan) gods. Corresponding to the 'mortal, sensible animated body' is the 'human being', the definition of which was the objective of stating this series in diagrammatic form. It is unclear what the draughtsman had in mind when he drew several lines departing from the (erased) 'rational' and 'irrational beings'. In this design it is clear that the right side of the figure is of no importance and that the series leads directly to mankind.

To recapitulate: the tree is an indirect image with a symbolic character that includes hierarchy, ramification, organic growth, cyclical life, fruits, and the like. Only some of these aspects are reflected in the Tree of Porphyry; the representation of hierarchy works, organic growth also — though inversely and only in the case of the branches on the left side. The tree metaphor is, overall, not a very consistent image for the Tree of Porphyry. Feelings of conflict, because of the inverted quality of the tree and the asymmetrical reading, become yet more explicable when one realizes that the Tree of Porphyry had not always been featured as a tree figure, but that the tree image only became attached to the Tree of Porphyry in the render-

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[44] Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bib., Cod. 800 Helmst. Other examples include Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 235, fol. 2^{v}; Vendôme, Bib. municipale, MS 0205, fol. 6^{v}.

[45] See also Eco, *Semiotics and the Philosophy of Language*, pp. 57–68.

[46] Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 5248.

[47] Other examples feature in Barcelona, Arch. de la corona de Aragon, Ripoll cod. 134, fol. 2^{v}; Paris, BNF, MS lat. 6657, fol. 4^{r}; Paris, Bib. de l'Arsenal, MS 728, fol. 2^{r}; Monte Cassino, Arch. della Badia, MS 362, fol. 102^{v}; Rome, Bib. Angelica, MS 953, fol. 60^{r}.

[48] Abbey of Saint Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 831, fol. 184^{v}. On the last folia of this MS 'normal' Trees of Porphyry are drawn: on fol. 362^{v} an unfinished example, and on fol. 363^{v} a finished one.

[49] For comparison, see the similar, modern figure of the Tree of Porphyry shown in Eco, *Semiotics and the Philosophy of Language*, p. 60.

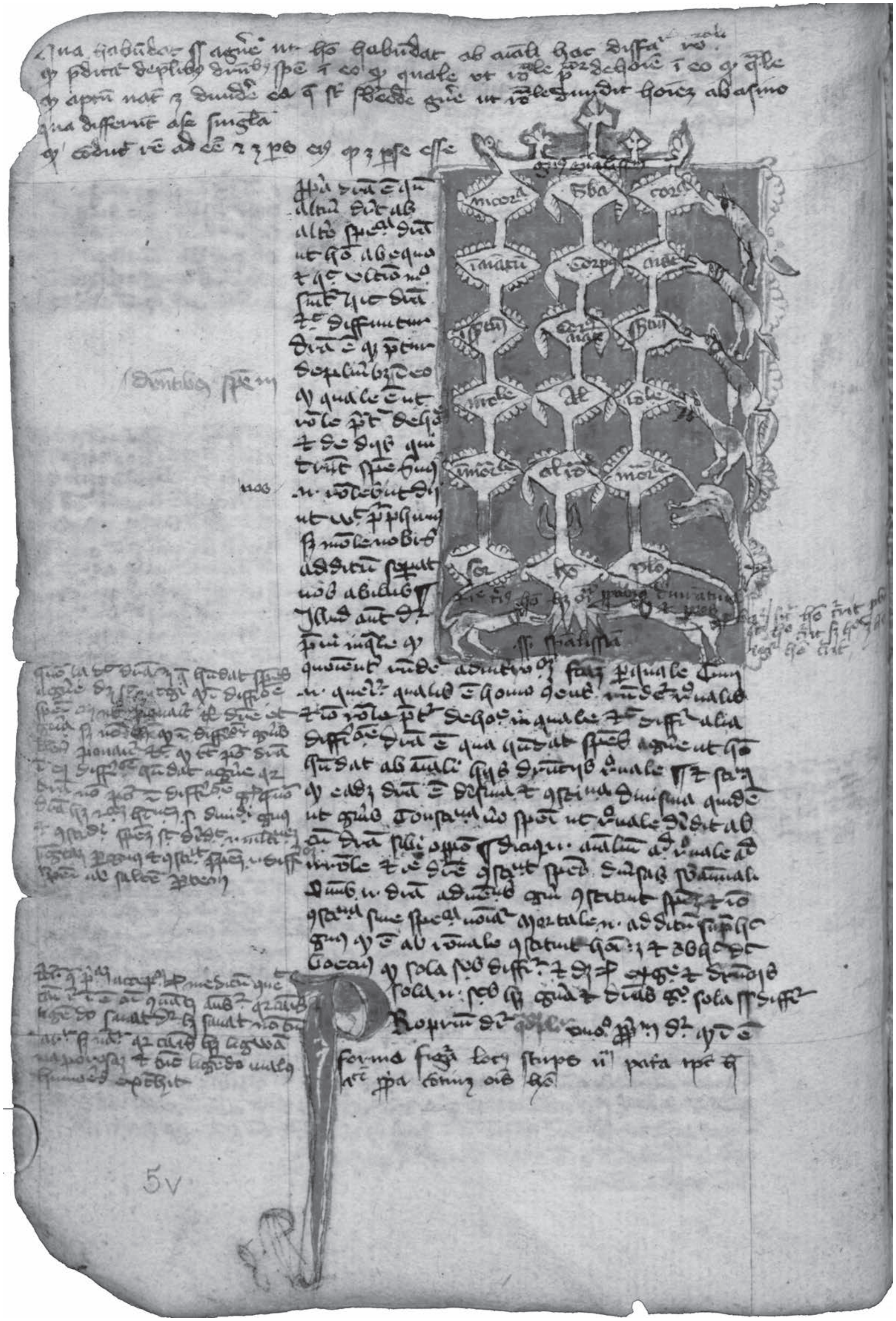

Figure 5.7. 'Tree of Porphyry', Peter of Spain, *Tractatus*, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 5248, fol. 5ᵛ. Fourteenth century. Photo courtesy of the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek.

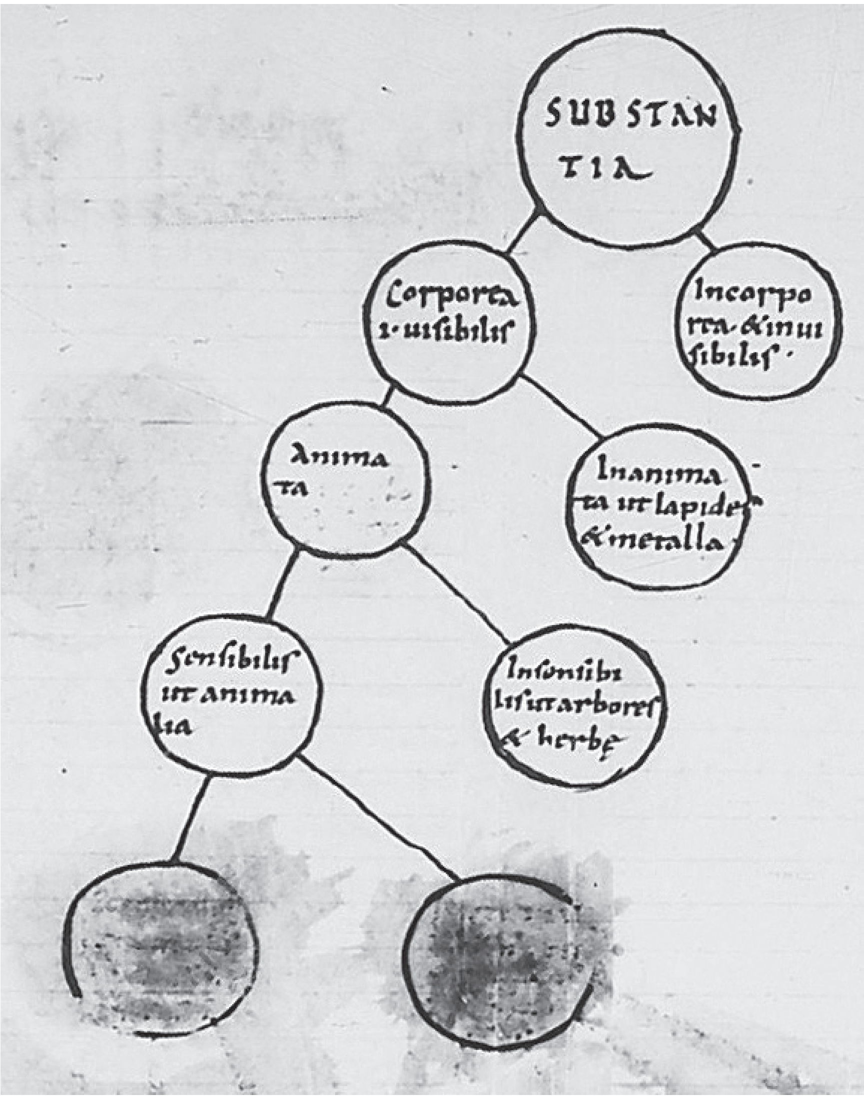
SUBSTAN
TIA
Corporea
i. uisibilis
Incorpo
rea & inui
sibilis
Anima
ta
Inanima
ta ut lapides
& metalla
Sensibilia
ut anima
lia
Insensibi
lia ut arbores
& herbe

Figure 5.8. 'Diagram of difference and species', Boethius, *Commentary on the Isagoge*, Abbey of Saint Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 831, fol. 184^{v}. Tenth or eleventh century. Photo courtesy of the Stiftsbibliothek Sankt Gallen.

ing of Peter of Spain's *Tractatus*. Similar conflicts between the reading direction and the arboreal structure occur in other diagrammatic trees such as the *arbores juris* (more specifically the Trees of Consanguinity), which read from centre to periphery, starting with 'ego' in the centre (Figures 3.1, 3.3, 3.5, 3.9, 3.10, 6.5, 6.10, and 9.8).[50] Among the most frequent depictions, however, is the representation of the Tree of Consanguinity superimposed on the figure of a man (Figure 3.9).

Arborization

This arboreal development of the visualization and name of the Tree of Porphyry is broadly characteristic of the second half of the thirteenth century when the tree designation was applied to figures in many other disciplines.[51] Pictorial traditions for diagrams had been so enlarged and interwoven during the thirteenth century that certain diagrams emerged as veritable independent entities, with multiple perceived applications.[52] The tree figure in particular was applied to various subjects: the Tree of Love, the Tree of Virtues, the Tree of Vices, the Tree of Science, the Tree of Life, the Tree of Knowledge, the Tree of Wisdom, the Genealogical Tree, the Tree of Jesse, the Tree of the Ten Commandments and the Ages of Man, the Tree of Affinity and Consanguinity, and the Tree of Heresies. And there is the Tree of Porphyry. This process fits into a general tendency which began in the twelfth century. We can truly speak in terms of an inflation of tree imagery. How can we understand this tree mania in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries? And how does the Tree of Porphyry fit in with this tendency?

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[50] In the iconographic tradition of the Tree of Porphyry there is also an important string representing the 'tree' in an anthropomorphic form, as mentioned above at note 29; on Trees of Consanguinity, see the article in this volume by Andrea Worm, '*Arbor humanum genus significat*: Trees of Genealogy and Sacred History in the Twelfth Century'; for other examples of conflicting directions, see the article in this volume by Marigold Anne Norbye, '*Arbor genealogiae*: Manifestations of the Tree in French Royal Genealogies'.

[51] Schadt, *Die Darstellungen der Arbores consanguinitatis und der Arbores affinitatis*, p. 291, n. 285, n. 286.

[52] Saxl, 'A Spiritual Encyclopedia of the Later Middle Ages', p. 112.

Memory Cues

Arborization was considered a rhetorical instrument of great value for (spiritual) orators. The image of the tree in particular belonged to the *artes praedicandi* (the preaching craft), used to instruct ordinary people. The fifteenth-century preacher Mauritius of Leiden stated 'praedicare est arborisare' (to preach is to 'arborize').[53] The sermon was supposed to be constructed like a tree, in which the introduction is like a trunk connecting the branches with the roots.[54] Mauritius of Leiden explained that the parts of the sermon are the branches, on which the 'fruits of salvation' hang.[55] The branches thus connect to the core of the sermon organically, each subdivision departing from the trunk.

A similar process of standardization took place in the context of exempla, which preachers of the mendicant orders of the Dominicans and Franciscans used to preach to the great mass of the people from the early thirteenth century onwards. Exempla are brief stories used to make a point in an argument or to illustrate a moral truth. In time, uniformity and repetition took over from the invention of new exempla. The repetition of the same exempla in a defined corpus of the most essential moral notions, which became increasingly better ordered, facilitated the improvization of the preacher. It also facilitated his memorization and that of his flock. The tool of the exempla thus became increasingly efficient.[56]

Can we understand the development of the visual tree repertoire in the thirteenth century in the same spirit of the preacher's arborization with the objective to facilitate discourse? During the Middle Ages, in which writing materials were costly, even learned men entrusted wisdom to their memory, in the knowledge that they were supposed to be able to reproduce a long discourse on demand.[57] Learning to perform tasks of mnemonic inculcation, such as collating texts, was part of basic didactics. This notion corresponds with the way in which the memory was thought to be structured in the Middle Ages: no memory came into existence passively; instead one had to construct memories during one's upbringing and education. Memory was seen as a consciously constructed system able to store and recollect different bits of information, like a library, and its maintenance and creation thus required the attention and care of every scholar and student.[58] Tool making, and the creation of images in the first place, was an essential part of this 'craft' of memory and also of great didactic use, because of its active role in digesting chunks of knowledge.[59]

Images in mnemonics often combine two functions: they can serve as a 'fixative' for memory storage, or as 'cues' to start the remembering process. The first one is, according to Carruthers, pedagogical; the latter is meditational.[60] Bolzoni made the same distinction: schemas form the link between the didactic moment (of preaching) and individual mystical exaltation.[61]

The didactic and meditational aspects were nonetheless closely intertwined. The meditative act was generated by reminiscing, cogitation, shuffling, and the collating of 'things' stored in memory.[62] These 'things' we should comprehend not as concepts or objects but as memory cues, used for constructing new work. Carruthers has shown that for early monastic visualization and rhetoric pictures do not stick in the mind as concepts or objects but as 'an inventory of synaesthetic, syncretic memory cues'. This inventory can be 'drawn upon, drawn out from and used for constructing new work'.[63] The beholder therefore used images for further thinking. They act as reminders, pointing to something else.

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[53] Johann Ulrich Surgant, *Manuale curatorum*, ed. by Roth, pp. 128–30; Kamber, *Arbor amoris. Der Minnebaum*, p. 70.

[54] 'Hanc faciem committo memoriae commendandam, quia meo judicio bene dirigit et sapere facit naturam introductionis': Johann Ulrich Surgant, *Manuale curatorum*, ed. by Roth, p. 129, n. 288.

[55] Johann Ulrich Surgant, *Manuale curatorum*, ed. by Roth, p. 130 n. 294.

[56] Schmitt, 'Recueils franciscains d'exempla', p. 20.

[57] From the 1960s scholars have been intent on rediscovering the role played by the art of memory in medieval and renaissance culture: Rossi, *Clavis naturalis*; Yates, *The Art of Memory*; Carruthers, *The Book of Memory*.

[58] Carruthers, *The Book of Memory*, p. 33.

[59] Hence, Carruthers insists on a 'craft' of thought in several of her book titles: Carruthers and Ziolkowski, *The Medieval Craft of Memory* and Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought*.

[60] Carruthers, *The Book of Memory*, p. 253.

[61] Bolzoni, *The Web of Images*, p. 7.

[62] Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought*, p. 4.

[63] Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought*, p. 148.

The same argument can be extended to physical pictures.[64] Mental pictures shared similar features with teaching diagrams.[65] Bolzoni, in *The Web of Images*, which studies the rhetorical, logical, and mental equipment of late medieval preaching, considers schemas to take various forms: as words, mental pictures, physical pictures, and combinations of the preceding. They are 'schemas straddling the border between the visible and the invisible, between reading and writing, memory and invention, exegesis and recycling'.[66]

The concepts in a diagram are, as such, like key words, each of which brings other texts, sayings, and explanations along with it. The very diagrammatic structure allows 'pulling' or 'fishing', to use metaphors commonly used in the Middle Ages.[67] It invites the reader to wander in their minds through similar diagrams, and thus enrich the figure.

'Pulling' Trees

The meditational feature was not reserved for mental images but also worked for physical ones, and the didactic application of 'cues' was not only reserved to the domain of writings and images in the spiritual realm, but was also extended to the *artes*, among which were logic, grammar, and natural philosophy.[68]

Due to spreading literacy in western Europe, diagrammatic material was created for the purposes of people seeking to write down material they had to present orally, and not only for sermons and prayers, but also school lectures and homilies.[69] Similar to the trees used in the service of catechesis, trees in other domains could help the orator and master to recall his lecture and attach new data to it by means of 'fishing' and 'pulling' in parallel trees. If we understand 'meditation' broadly, in the sense of rumination and reflection, these ideas of fixation and recollection are useful for the interpretation of learned visual representations.

It is worth pausing over the phenomenon of 'pulling' or 'fishing' to see how this phenomenon could actually work for the profane Tree of Porphyry. I will therefore relate the Tree of Porphyry to a diagram in the twelfth-century copy of the *Clavis physicae* by Honorius Augustodunensis (1080–1157).[70] There will be no attempt at a detailed exposition of its philosophical doctrines or at a comprehensive survey of the issues the text raised. My main purpose in dealing with one of the diagrams in the *Clavis physicae* is to show how the notion of 'pulling' might work for the Tree of Porphyry. I will employ a similar analytical approach regarding the logical coherence of the figure in the *Clavis physicae*.

The figure in question shows the so-called seven degrees diagram (Figure 5.9). At the top God is shown in a medallion. From there two lines depart ending respectively in a medallion inscribed *anarchos* and in one marked *sine principio* (without beginning), both terms meant the same thing.[71] In the second tier is inscribed *archetypus mundus*, the archetype of all that is in the world — the ideas and the spirit of God. The archetypical world is a kind of Platonic Idea of the world, an insubstantial model of all creation, and also a link between God and his actual creation. Related to the archetypical world, placed on the right, are the Dionysian names *Bonitas* (Benevolence), *Essentia* (Essence), *Sapientia* (Wisdom), and *Vita* (Life). These names are the *Theophaneia* (manifestations) of God through which we

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[64] Carruthers, *The Medieval Craft of Memory*. For more literature on mnemotechnics and diagrams (outside the medieval scientific realm for example), see Hasenohr, 'Méditation méthodique et mnémonique'; Friedmann, 'Les Images mnémotechniques'.

[65] Carruthers, *The Book of Memory*, p. 250. Esmeijer, *Divina Quaternitas*, was one of the first to explore the meaning of figures attributed with a role half-way between word and image, the so-called typological figures. She considered these figures visual-exegetic representations made in the service of preaching. She evoked the role of *ars memorativa* in the interpretation of the commentary in which the figures appeared, and the complementary role therefore played by the interpreting reader.

[66] Bolzoni, *The Web of Images*, p. 6.

[67] Carruthers, *The Book of Memory*, p. 247.

[68] For some decades now, attention has focused on preachers' tools and schemas for related spiritual purposes. Studies concentrating on catechetical diagrams are Bolzoni, *The Web of Images*; Sicard, *Diagrammes medievaux et exegese visuelle*; Esmeijer, *Divina Quaternitas*; Saxl, 'A Spiritual Encyclopedia of the Later Middle Ages'; Katzenellenbogen, *Allegories of the Virtues and Vices in Mediaeval Art*.

[69] Wirth, 'Von mittelalterlichen Bildern und Lehrfiguren', p. 282.

[70] Paris, BNF, MS lat. 6734, fol. 2^v.

[71] 'Prima itaque divisionis nature differentia nobis visa est in eam que creat et non creatur, que species de solo Deo recte predicatur, qui solus omnia creat et ipse a nullo creatur. Ipse anarchos, id est sine principio, ipse principalis causa omnium que sunt, ipse principium, quia ex se sunt omnia, ipse medium, quia per ipsum subsistunt omnia, ipse finis, quia ad ipsum tendunt omnia': Honorius Augustodunensis, *Clavis physicae*, ed. by Lucentini, p. 12.

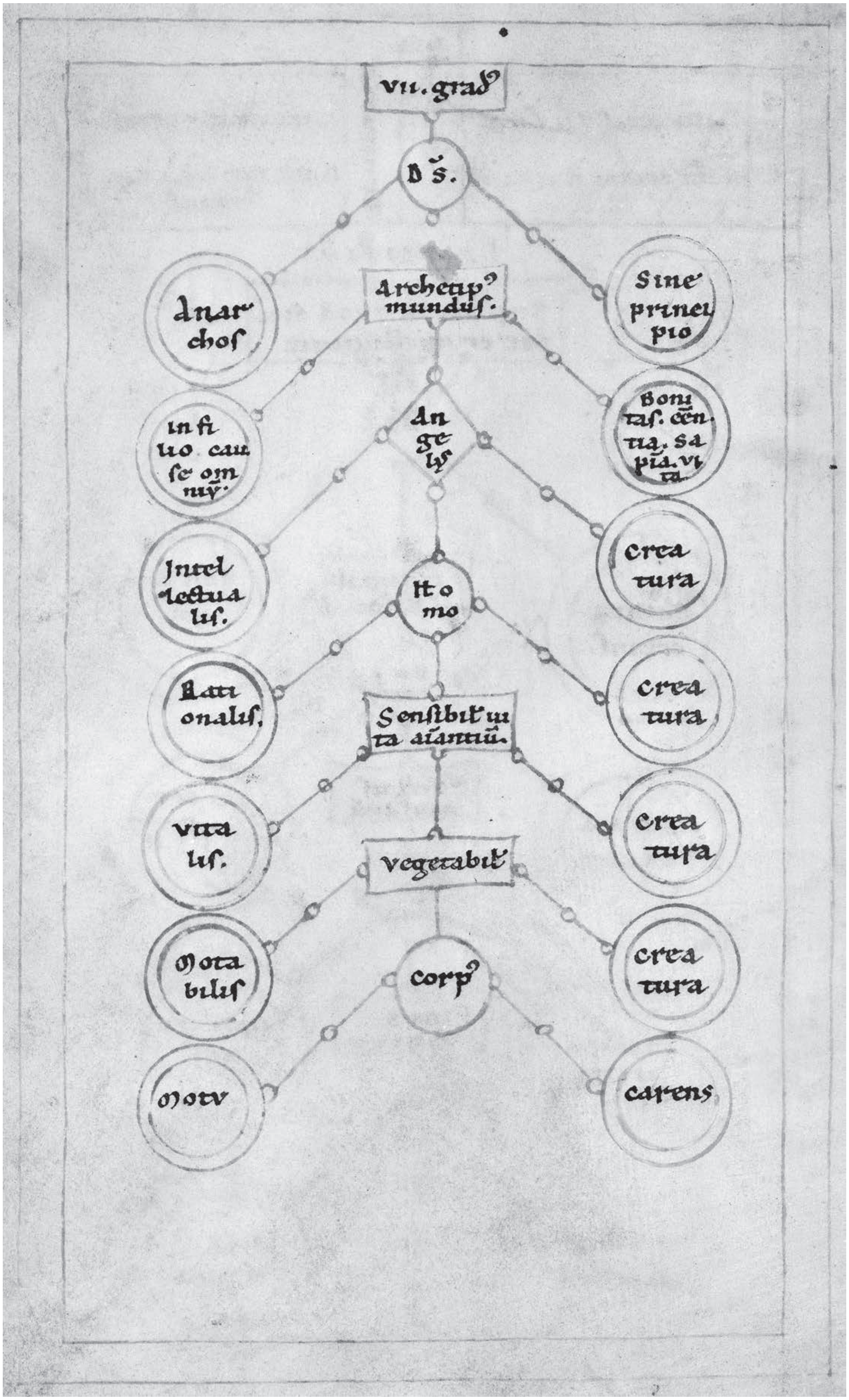
vii. grad⁹
D̃s.
Anarchos
Sine principio
Archetip⁹ mundus.
In fi uo cause omnium.
Bonitas. ẽẽntia. sapia. vita
Angelus
Intellectualis.
Creatura
Homo
Rationalis.
Creatura
Sensibilit uita aĩantiũ.
Vitalis.
Creatura
Vegetabit
Motabilis
Creatura
Corp⁹
Motu
Carens

Figure 5.9. 'Seven degrees diagram', Honorius Augustodunensis, *Clavis physicae*, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 6734, fol. 2^{v}. Second half of the twelfth century. Photo courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France.

know of his existence. These manifestations, which are universal forces of causation, survive in the Son (who is also the Word): 'in filio cause omnium' (in the Son [are] the causes of everything).[72]

From the third tier onwards, the visible world comes into existence. Honorius divided beings into five categories: the 'intellectual', 'rational', 'sensitive', 'vital', and 'corporal'. The angels contemplate God in his manifestations, and they are, as such, an *intellectus creatura* (intellectual being). Below the angels is man, a *rationalis creatura* (rational being). Beneath man is placed *sensibilis vita animatum* (a being endowed with senses), like an animal. He is, equally, a *vitalis creatura*, that is, endowed with life and sense perception. Beneath the percipient being is the mere vital one, the *vegetabilis*, like a tree, which is a *motabilis creatura* (a being endowed with motion — a tree moves because it grows). The last tier is reserved for the 'inanimate body' lacking any movement (*motu carens*), like stones, and qualities such as colours.[73] This figure is clearly shaped after the dichotomous model of the Tree of Porphyry. The resemblance between the two figures was previously noticed by D'Alverny and Yates.[74] Neither of them, however, observed that the Vienna copy of the *Clavis* actually depicts the Tree of Porphyry in its appendices (Figure 5.10).[75] Honorius Augustodunensis used Johannes Scotus Eriugena's *De divisione naturae* as a main source, in which there is a good deal of logic from the *Isagoge* and the *Categories*.[76] Honorius was therefore well acquainted with the logical material in the Tree of Porphyry as presented to him by Eriugena.

There are several differences of importance here between the Tree of Porphyry diagram and the seven degrees diagram from the *Clavis* (Figure 5.9). The *differentiae* of the created world in the *Clavis* are placed in opposing pair of branches like in the Tree of Porphyry. The content, however, is a single phrase: 'motu|carens, motabilis|creatura, vitalis|creatura, rationalis|creatura, intellectualis|creatura'. Dividing them on the two sides of the central descending line is pleasing to the eye, but it is without substantive explicatory utility. With the idea of a division between left and right the author alluded to the mechanism of *divisio* and *analysis*, a central idea in Eriugena's *De divisione naturae*, which amounts to the idea of division and multiplication of the one primary Cause into various primordial causes, then into manifestations and on into *genera*, *species*, and particular things. Subsequently, in the *analysis*, the multitude gathers itself back up, through the same stages, to the one Cause, which is God. Yet Honorius does not show any division in his diagram; instead, he shows linear emanation, and no *analysis*.

Another important difference is that *corpus* is at the top of the Tree of Porphyry and is placed at the bottom of the *Clavis*-diagram. In the *Clavis*-diagram one descends from the uncreated towards the created world, and from the angels to the body — the result of emanation. Yet, in the textual description in the *Clavis*, the order starts with *corpus* and ends with God. For the diagram the draughtsman thought that it would be more proper to visualize God at the top and *corpus* as the lowest unit, far below. The seven degrees diagram in the *Clavis physicae* shows a taxonomic picture of the whole of reality: if God as highest being and highest genus is the principle of all things, then the things found below are real beings. In this introduction of vertical causation, the Aristotelian diaeresis is transformed into a *scala entis*, a Platonic ontological scale. Aristotle himself had sharply distinguished between the physical and the logical sense of genus.[77] But Eriugena, a main source for Augustodunensis, made the degrees of abstraction coincide with the degrees of real existence: he thereby emancipated a structure illustrative of logic for use in other domains.

The Tree of Porphyry is a logical figure that gives an example of definition by using the specific case of man in relation to the broad category of substance. There genus and species are only conceptual or semantic entities. The use of an existing compositional structure facilitated memorization thanks to its rigid structure, and boosted improvisation through recollection and collation. By enlarging the group of similar figures, one increased opportunities for systematic instruction. In the described case: by equating logical concepts with physical ones, Honorius Augustodunensis juxtaposed Plato's and Aristotle's analyses by placing Plato's doctrine into a visual model based on Aristotelian logic.

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[72] D'Alverny, 'Le Cosmos symbolique du XII^{e} siècle', pp. 48–50.

[73] D'Alverny, 'Le Cosmos symbolique du XII^{e} siècle', pp. 53–55.

[74] D'Alverny, 'Le Cosmos symbolique du XII^{e} siècle', p. 50; Yates, 'Ramon Lull and John Scotus Erigena', p. 14.

[75] Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. Ser. n. 3605, fols 1^{r}–103^{v}, 13c. The diagram of the Tree of Porphyry is on fol. 104^{r}.

[76] The above cited excerpt in the *Clavis physicae* is similar to John Scotus Eriugena, *De divisione naturae*, ed. by O'Meara, liber I:11; D'Alverny, 'Le Cosmos symbolique du XII^{e} siècle', p. 39.

[77] For a discussion about substance, being, and division between Plato, Aristotle, Seneca, Cicero, and the Stoics, see Mansfeld, *Heresiography in Context*, pp. 78–109.

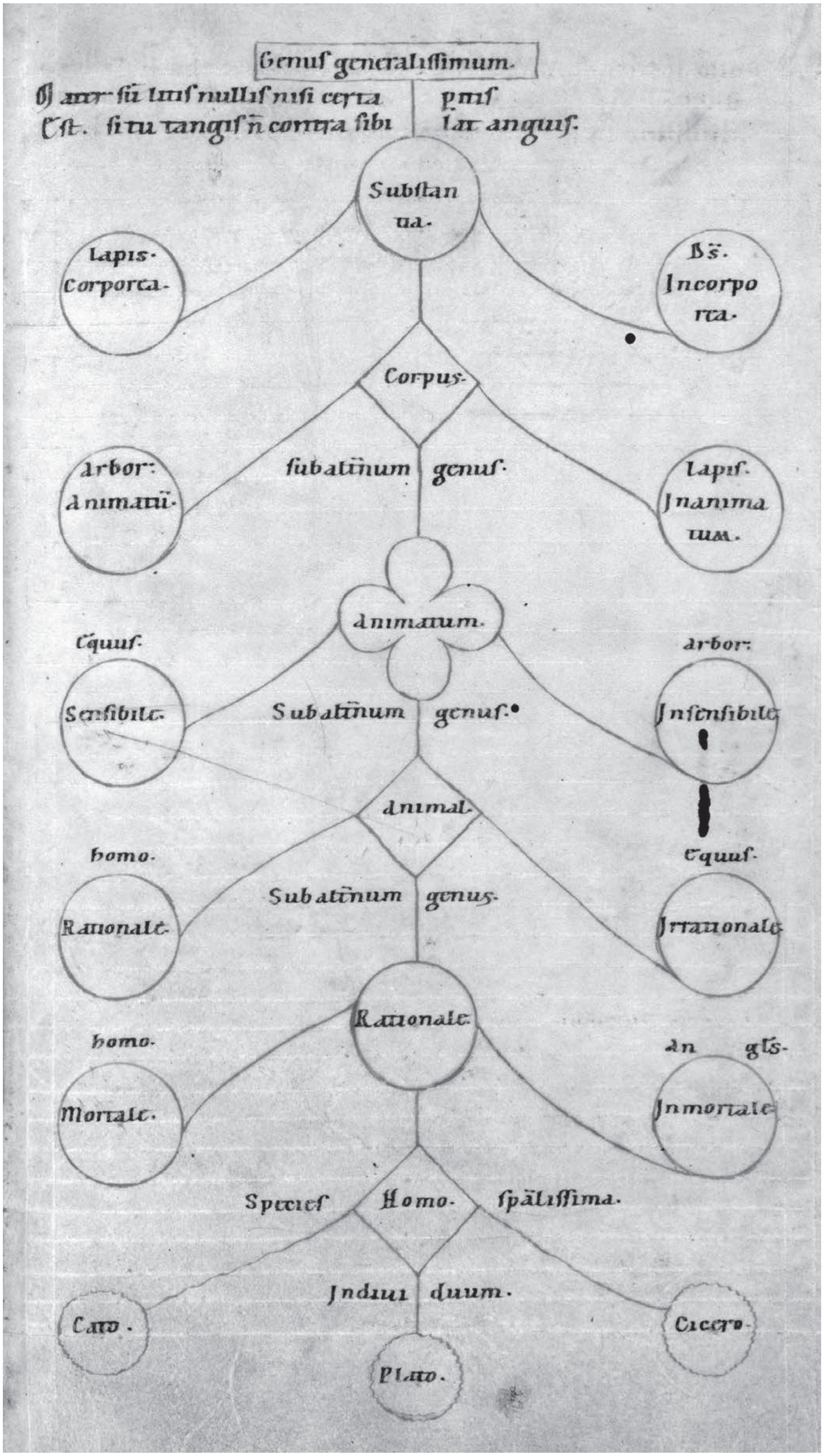
Genuſ generaliſſimum·
Ꝺ aer· sū luis nullis nisi certa
Est. situ tangis ñ contra sibi
pmiſ
lat anguiſ.
Subſtantia·
Lapis·
Corporea·
Bs̄·
Incorporea·
Corpus·
Arbor:
Animatū·
ſubaltn̄um
genuſ·
Lapiſ·
Inanimatum·
animatum·
Equuſ·
Senſibile·
arbor·
Inſenſibile·
Subaltn̄um
genuſ·
animal·
homo·
Rationale·
Equuſ·
Irrationale·
Subaltn̄um
genus·
Rationale·
homo·
Mortale·
an
gls·
Inmortale·
Speciеſ
Homo·
ſpālisſima·
Cato·
Indiui
duum·
Cicero·
Plato·

Figure 5.10.
'Tree of Porphyry',
Honorius Augustodunensis,
Clavis physicae, Vienna,
Österreichische National-bibliothek, Cod. Ser. n. 3605,
fol. 104^{r}. Thirteenth century.
Photo courtesy of
the Österreichische
Nationalbibliothek.

The mechanism of 'pulling' and 'fishing' between two diagrams works already between the seven degrees in the *Clavis physiae* and the Tree of Porphyry, which were both in the twelfth century unadorned with vegetative elements and whose collation depend on the bare diagrammatic structure. The 'pulling' and 'fishing' of theories between the multitudes of fully drawn diagrammatic tree structures would have been even more appealing to scholars in the thirteenth century. The collation and substitution of parallel doctrines would have been inevitable for the thirteenth-century reader and orator.

Conclusion

Tree diagrams cannot be considered self-explanatory. Text and diagram, in the case of the Tree of Porphyry, are not fully congruent. Only an analytical study of several historical diagrams can reveal oddities in its form and content. Before Peter of Spain used the word *arbor*, the Trees of Porphyry were not drawn as trees or called trees. Once Peter of Spain designated the diagram as a tree in the thirteenth century, it began to be drawn with all the characteristics of a tree. Only then was the tree drawn like a tree, with roots, a trunk, branches, leaves, a canopy, and so on. The logical branches became pictorial branches.

A real tension emerged in the wake of this change and conflicts of symmetry created by opposing directions of organic growth and reading logic. Scribes attempted to make the trees more tree-like, and offered trees with the branches growing upwards. This, however, was logically incoherent — a remarkable illustration of the tension that can be created between image and logic. Some draughtsmen were aware of this tension and sought to resolve the conflict over direction by drawing a tree with horizontal branches.

The vegetative representation of Porphyry's Tree is understandable given the thirteenth century's growing repertoire of tree figures especially in the moral domain. The creation of templates was a basic part of the learning process. Students were not only supposed to learn the rudiments of logic but also the form in which they could store the bits of information learned. Such a template permitted scholars to analyse data and organize concepts and theories. The Tree of Porphyry stimulated and provided a tree template for memorization. The storage of information served the student eventually as a way to recover specific areas of knowledge on demand.

Students were expected to perform knowledge, rather than to read or write texts. The repertoire of figures they had acquired permitted scholars to collate different doctrines with ease and flexibility during lectures, disputes, and sermons. Holding a repertoire of images in their mind allowed significant suppleness in the collation of doctrines and texts solely through visual similarity of diagrammatic structures. Morphologically identical structures permitted the readers/viewers to combine stored data using the same structure and hence to create new ideas, new arrangements. Trees all looked more or less the same, but they may have supported different inferences. The composition of the tree was therefore a mental structure that was infinitely expandable.

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Visualizing Salvation: The Role of Arboreal Imagery in the *Speculum humanae salvationis* (Kremsmünster, Library of the Convent, Cod. 243)

Susanne Wittekind*

Gottes muoter ist hie geborn	God's mother was born here,
Ain blueginder rose ane dorn	a blooming rose without thorns
Von dez geschlaeht her Yesse,	from the lineage of Jesse,
Uins waer anders geschehen we	otherwise despair would have overcome us
Und muesin iemer verdorben sin	and we would have had to perish forever
Inder ewigun helle pin.	in Hell's eternal torment.
Der wisage Esyas,	The prophet Isaiah
Der het uins gekuindet daz,	has announced to us,
Daz von der wurtze ain boun uz ste,	that a tree would come forth from the root
Diui gehaissen ist Yesse.	that is called Jesse.
Uf dem boum ain bluome wahsenden ist,	On the tree a flower has grown,
Uinser Herr Jesus Christ	our Lord Jesus Christ,
Und dez hailigen gaistes gaube,	and the dove of the Holy Spirit
Die uins behuetent vor der lage	that protects us from the lie
Dez tievels zu der helle.	of the devil in Hell.
Swer sin nu sicher welle,	Whoever is seeking to save himself,
Der stelle nah der fruht	should aspire to this fruit
Und nah gaistlicher zuht,	and to spiritual discipline
Der wirt dez sicher getan.	And so it will certainly come to them,
Es muos im wol ergan.[1]	they must fare well.

These Middle High German verses accompany the illustrated scenes of the Birth of Mary and the Tree of Jesse in the *Speculum humanae salvationis* manuscript in the Convent Library of Kremsmünster, Cod. 243, fols 9^{v}–10^{r} (Figure 6.1).

Mary is referred to as the rose and Jesus as the flower of the tree, whose root is Jesse. Vegetal metaphors like these characterize the language and the semantics of the text. This occurs not only in the columns of Alemannic prose poetry situated above the illustrations of this manuscript, but also in the figurative speech of the original Latin verses. The *Speculum humanae salvationis* narrates the history of salvation from the Creation to the Flood, through the Annunciation of Joachim, the life

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* This article has been translated from the original German version into English by the editors of this volume, Pippa Salonius and Andrea Worm.

[1] Niesner, *Das Speculum humanae salvationis* transcribes the German text of the *Speculum humanae salvationis*; the passage quoted here is on p. 47. *Speculum humanae salvationis*, complete facsimile edition, I: *Commentary by Willibrord Neumüller*, II: *Facsimile*; see also *Speculum humanae salvationis*, ed. by Neumüller. In her examination of the manuscript Niesner ignores its other texts and pictures. Hamburger, 'Review of Bert Cardon, *Manuscripts of the Speculum*', notes that a close examination of how the visual typological system of references operates within specific manuscripts of the *Speculum humanae salvationis* has yet to be published. Such a close examination is one of the aims of this article. For a methodological reflection on this approach, see also Nichols, 'Introduction'.

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and martyrdom of Jesus and Pentecost, and finally closes with the Last Judgement. Each primary New Testament scene is accompanied by three complementary images of symbolic representations or Old Testament episodes functioning as typological counterparts: for example, the Annunciation to Anna (Figure 6.2) on the opening preceding the Birth of the Virgin (Figure 6.1). The Annunciation to Mary, and thus the Incarnation of Christ in Mary as a pure vessel, is paralleled with the Dream of King Astyages. In this dream, it is announced to him that his daughter will give birth to a king (Cyrus) who will free Israel from Egyptian oppression — just as Mary will give birth to the Saviour (Figure 6.2). In the text Mary is praised in the words from the Song of Songs as the *Hortus conclusus*, the enclosed garden, and as the well of living waters (Canticles 4. 12–15). This is continued in the prophecy of Bileam (Numbers 24. 17), according to which a star was to rise out of Israel. This star was understood in the Latin as well as in the Middle High German commentary as announcing the Virgin Mary, the star of the sea: 'stella maris'.[2] In general, the typological relationship between the Old Testament scenes and their corresponding image from the New Testament is indicated by the compositional alignment of the scenes or by the superimposition of the preceding image on the symbolic representation.[3]

The eighteenth-century ownership inscription on fol. 3^r above the Tree of Vices indicates that the Kremsmünster manuscript was in the possession of the Premonstratensian monastery of Weissenau at Ravensburg, near Lake Constance (Figure 6.3). It was later transferred to Kremsmünster, as a result of the secularization and dissolution of the monastery of Weissenau in 1812. Apparently, the text of the *Speculum humanae salvationis* was written in the first half of the fourteenth century by an anonymous Dominican, who is mentioned as 'frater quidam in ordine predicatorum' in chapter 45 (Kremsmünster, Library of the Convent, Cod. 243, fol. 50^v, col. 1, line 7).[4] The dialect of the German verses in the Kremsmünster manuscript points to a Swabian-Alemannic place of origin.[5] Among roughly four hundred preserved manuscripts of the *Speculum humanae salvationis*, this manuscript is the earliest one containing a bilingual version of the text. Moreover, the Kremsmünster-codex is one of the most lavishly illustrated copies of the *Speculum humanae salvationis*, of which there are roughly 160 illuminated manuscripts.[6] The manuscript is bound in a simple pigskin binding. Its sixty-two leaves measure 33.5 × 22.5 cm.[7] As Neumüller has demonstrated, several arguments indicate that it was made for the Premonstratensian convent in Weissenau. In the manuscript, the Dominican Order's patron saint Dominic is replaced by Norbert, the founder and patron of the Premonstratensians, in marked contrast to other existing copies of the *Speculum humanae salvationis* (chapter 37, fol. 42^v). In the illustration on fol. 50^v, a Premonstratensian abbot is represented at the side of a Dominican friar. Furthermore, the image of the Tree of Jesse on fol. 55^r (Figure 6.4), highlights the patrons of the monastery of Weissenau, Peter and Paul, who are shown above the Crucifixion. The heraldic symbols of a golden eagle and the red and white Austrian shield on a coat of arms on fol. 12^r, as well as details of costume, indicate that the manuscript dates to between *c.* 1325 and *c.* 1330, when King Ludwig of Bavaria and Frederick the Handsome of Austria (d. 1330) were both elected king. The contemporaneous election of two rulers desta-

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[2] Niesner, *Das Speculum humanae salvationis*, pp. 45–46 (Middle High German), see also pp. 179–82 (commentary). Lutz and Perdrizet, *Speculum humanae salvationis*, I: *Jahrhunderts: Text*, edition of the Latin text, quoted here in chap. 3, pp. 8–9. The prophecy to King Astyages is based on Petrus Comestor, *Historia scholastica*, col. 1470. A substantial portion of the remaining fourteenth- and fifteenth-century manuscripts, which are written in both Latin and the vernacular, and number well over four hundred, are illuminated. It has been assumed that the first Latin version, too, was illustrated. This manuscript originated in a Mendicant environment, possibly in Italy; cf. Niesner, *Das Speculum humanae salvationis*, p. 8. Stork and Wachinger, 'Speculum humanae salvationis', cols 56–57.

[3] This method of figurative typological narration became common in the twelfth century. See Hughes, 'Visual Typology'; Mohnhaupt, *Beziehungsgeflechte Typologische Kunst des Mittelalters*.

[4] An Italian origin of the *Speculum humanae salvationis* has been suggested because of the existence of a Bolognese manuscript in Toledo, former Archivo y Biblioteca Capitulare, MS 10.8, to which Gerhard Schmidt draws attention in his review of the facsimile edition of the Kremsmünster-codex (Schmidt, 'Review of Neumüller, *Speculum humanae salvationis*', pp. 162–63. Evelyn Silber dates the manuscript in Toledo to *c.* 1324–35: Silber, 'The Reconstructed Toledo *Speculum humanae salvationis*', p. 34; cf. Niesner, *Das Speculum humanae salvationis*, pp. 10–25; Cardon, *Manuscripts of the 'Speculum humane salvationis'*, pp. 38–41.

[5] *Speculum humanae salvationis*, ed. by Neumüller, pp. 12–13, 16–20.

[6] Roth and Grams-Thieme, 'Speculum humane salvationis'.

[7] There is one noteworthy irregularity: in the first of the five quaternions (signed with quire-marks at the end of each quire), a smaller separate sheet of 25.8 × 18.5 cm is bound in as fol. 2. On this folio, the ending of the *Summa vitiorum* (starting on fol. 1^v) as well as the *Prologus de fructu carnis et spiritus*, is noted; on the codicological structure of the manuscript, see in greater detail *Speculum humanae salvationis*, ed. by Neumüller, col. 4.

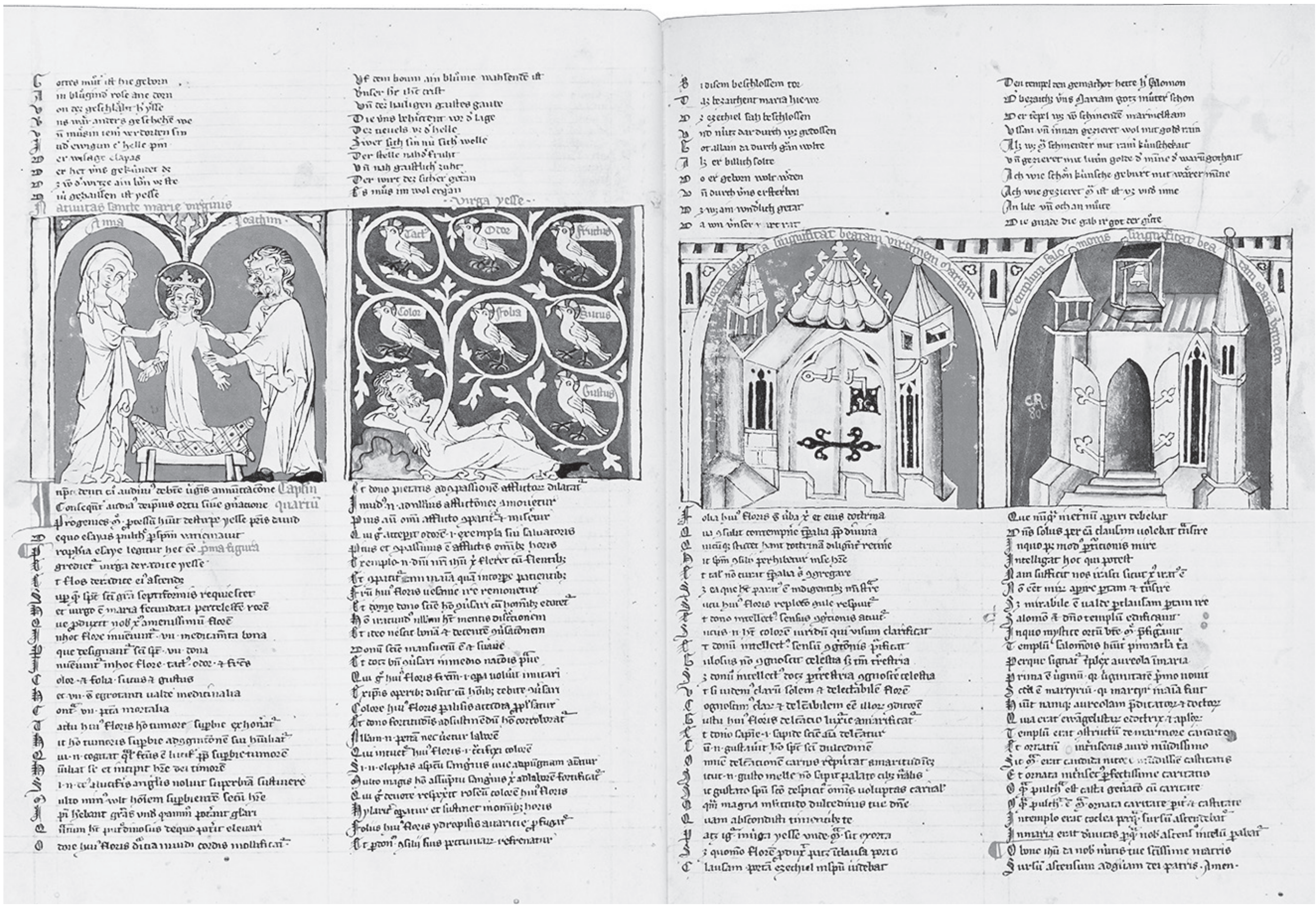

Figure 6.1. 'Birth of Mary and typological scenes', *Speculum humanae salvationis*, Kremsmünster, Library of the Convent, Cod. 243, fols 9ᵛ–10ʳ. *c.* 1325–30. Reproduced with permission of the Convent of Kremsmünster.

bilized and divided the country, also disrupting life at the monastery of Weissenau.[8]

The Tree of Life and the Cross have been the most important symbolic representations of Jesus in exegesis, liturgy, and art since early Christian times. In the Middle Ages, the symbol of the tree was charged with connotations of salvation history. From as early as the twelfth century the flowering Tree of Jesse was a well-known image associated with the arrival of Christ the Messiah of the house of King David.[9] Thus, it is no surprise that the symbol of the tree is found with particular frequency in the text as well as in the images of the *Speculum humanae salvationis*, where it appears as a trunk with budding leaves, as a vine, or more specifically as a grapevine. The inclusion of a similar motif in different illuminations within the *Speculum humanae salvationis* creates a visual link between these images that goes beyond their specific context. A visual pattern of reference and association is achieved and is woven across the manuscript, where it helps to link the individual images with the passages of text. Other recurring motifs like the enclosed gate of the fortified castle contribute to the visual network of meaning.[10] This pictorial strategy corresponds to techniques of the medieval *ars memorativa*, in which various topics are linked in order to facilitate the memorization of images and symbols and to aid their recollection.[11] The figurative 'tagging' of topics provided a system for associatively linking texts and terms, thus offering a useful tool for developing sermons and for teaching theology. This technique bore creative potential, and was also of great importance for inner vision and contemplation.[12]

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[8] Niesner's attempt to attribute the manuscript's production to a Servite convent is, however, not convincing: Niesner, *Das Speculum humanae salvationis*, pp. 165–66.

[9] Schiller, *Ikonographie der christlichen Kunst*, pp. 23–31; see the articles in this volume by Marie-Pierre Gelin, '*Stirps Jesse in capite ecclesiae*: Iconographic and Liturgical Readings of the Tree of Jesse in Stained-Glass Windows', and Pippa Salonius, '*Arbor Jesse – Lignum vitae*: The Tree of Jesse, the Tree of Life, and the Mendicants in Late Medieval Orvieto'.

[10] Other leitmotifs in the *Speculum humanae salvationis* in Kremsmünster are the *arma Christi*. They are introduced into various scenes of the Passion (cf. fols 24ᵛ, 25ᵛ, 28ᵛ); they also appear as signs of the victory of Christ and the Virgin Mary over Satan (cf. fols 34ᵛ, 35ᵛ) and in Marian meditation (fol. 40ᵛ); and they represent important moments in the Virgin's life. In the scene of Christ's intercession for humanity they remind us of his passion (fol. 44ᵛ), and in the Last Judgement (fol. 45ᵛ) they also appear as attributes of Christ.

I would like to illustrate this idea in a case study of the manuscript of the *Speculum humanae salvationis* in Kremsmünster, which is available in a facsimile edition and thus available to a wider audience.[13] In my analysis of the manuscript I follow the methodological approach of material philology, which draws attention to the different contexts of a textual tradition, thus shifting the focus of enquiry on the recipients and users of the manuscript in question.[14] The examination of a manuscript as its own entity allows us to analyse its visual structure. Furthermore, it permits us to interpret additions to texts and assess their images as evidence, promoting active discussion of texts, images, and their 'models'.

The Kremsmünster-codex is particularly suitable for the purposes of this volume because it contains the tree as a leitmotif in several arboreal schemes. The Tree of Virtues and Vices appears at the beginning of the codex, followed by the Tree of Jesse, the Genealogy of Christ, and finally the *Arbores consanguinitatis et affinitatis* (Figure 6.5).[15] The contextualization of *arbores* within a moral-didactic, juridical, and biblical-chronicle context opens up new and fascinating perspectives. More precisely, the manuscript contains a distinctive visual structure of links, in which the motif of the tree is singled out and artistically highlighted not only in the framework of arboreal schemes, but also in the images of the *Speculum humanae salvationis*. I perceive and understand these different *arbores* motifs to be signs, which, beyond their objective meaning, belong to another theological area of association. I refer here to the semiotic debate, which has called the linkage of the signifier and the signified increasingly into question. In this discussion, Jacques Derrida has emphasized that signs repeatedly refer to other signs, that it is the human interpreters who create the image relations, and that their assignments are defined culturally by particular manners of thinking and language.[16]

However, the origins of these semiotic ideas related to the *arbor*-motif can be found in the *Speculum humanae salvationis* manuscript itself, for the Latin prologue already uses the tree as a symbol, though not in a theological respect. The reader is able to discern an almost playful handling of metaphors and images, which are presented as a subcategory within the established and theologically charged motif of the tree. In fact the author openly acknowledges his use of embedded meaning in the prologue, where he warns the reader of the dangers that lie in the careless association of persons or events with certain images. He points out that Scripture is similar to beeswax, in that it can be moulded into different shapes. In the same manner, he says, a single sign can be used to indicate either the devil or Christ, depending on its context.[17] One must memorize, the author tells his readers, the exact context in which a person or an epi-

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In the scenes of the Passion without typological counterparts, they are also part of the composition (fols 48^{v}, 49^{v}–50^{r}, 52^{r}), just as in the mariological subject of the *porta clausa*, the closed (castle) gates (fols 9^{r}, 10^{r}, 11^{r}, 12^{r}, 15^{r}, 29^{r}, 30^{r}, 43^{v}, 44^{r}).

[11] Carruthers, *The Book of Memory*, on diagrammatic images see pp. 248–53; Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought*. Carruthers established to what extent and how the ancient technique of *memoria* was adopted, transformed, and enhanced in the Middle Ages. In classical antiquity the association of terms and passages of text with imaginary terms or objects placed in imaginary rooms was used as a mnemonic device; cf. Gormans, 'Geometria et ars memorativa', pp. 20–29. On *ars memorativa* at the school of Saint-Victor, cf. Kärcher, 'Wer etwas in seinem Geist begreift' (for the image theory of the school of Saint-Victor, see pp. 167–75).

[12] Lentes, 'Inneres Auge, äußerer Blick und heilige Schau'; Preisinger, 'Renovatio ad imaginem'.

[13] Most recently this scientific approach is supported by the digital reproduction of entire manuscripts, as offered by the *Codices Electronici Ecclesiae Coloniensis* (CEEC) for the stock of manuscripts in the cathedral library of Cologne, and the *Codices Electronici Sangallenses* (CESG) for the abbey library of St Gall; in addition to this, separate manuscripts are digitalized and can be found on the website <http://www.enluminures.culture.fr/documentation/enlumine/fr/rechguidee_00.htm> [accessed 21 April 2013]

[14] For a more detailed discussion of the argument, see Lutz and others, *Lesevorgänge*.

[15] For a discussion of the use of miniatures to introduce and end manuscripts, see Böse and Wittekind, 'Eingangsminiaturen als Schwellen'.

[16] Bogen, 'Semiotik'.

[17] Lutz and Perdrizet, *Speculum humanae salvationis*, I, 3: 'Sic una res aliquando significat diabolum, aliquando Christum. | Nec mirari debemus Scripturae modum istum, | Quia secundum diversas alicujus rei vel personae actiones | Diversae possunt sibi attribui significationes.' In a manuscript with a German verse translation of the *Speculum humanae salvationis* and the legend of Saint Mary Magdalen (Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Staatsbibliothek, MS germ. fol. 245, fol. 1^{r}) from the monastary of Steinfeld, the prologue is prefaced by a picture showing two men

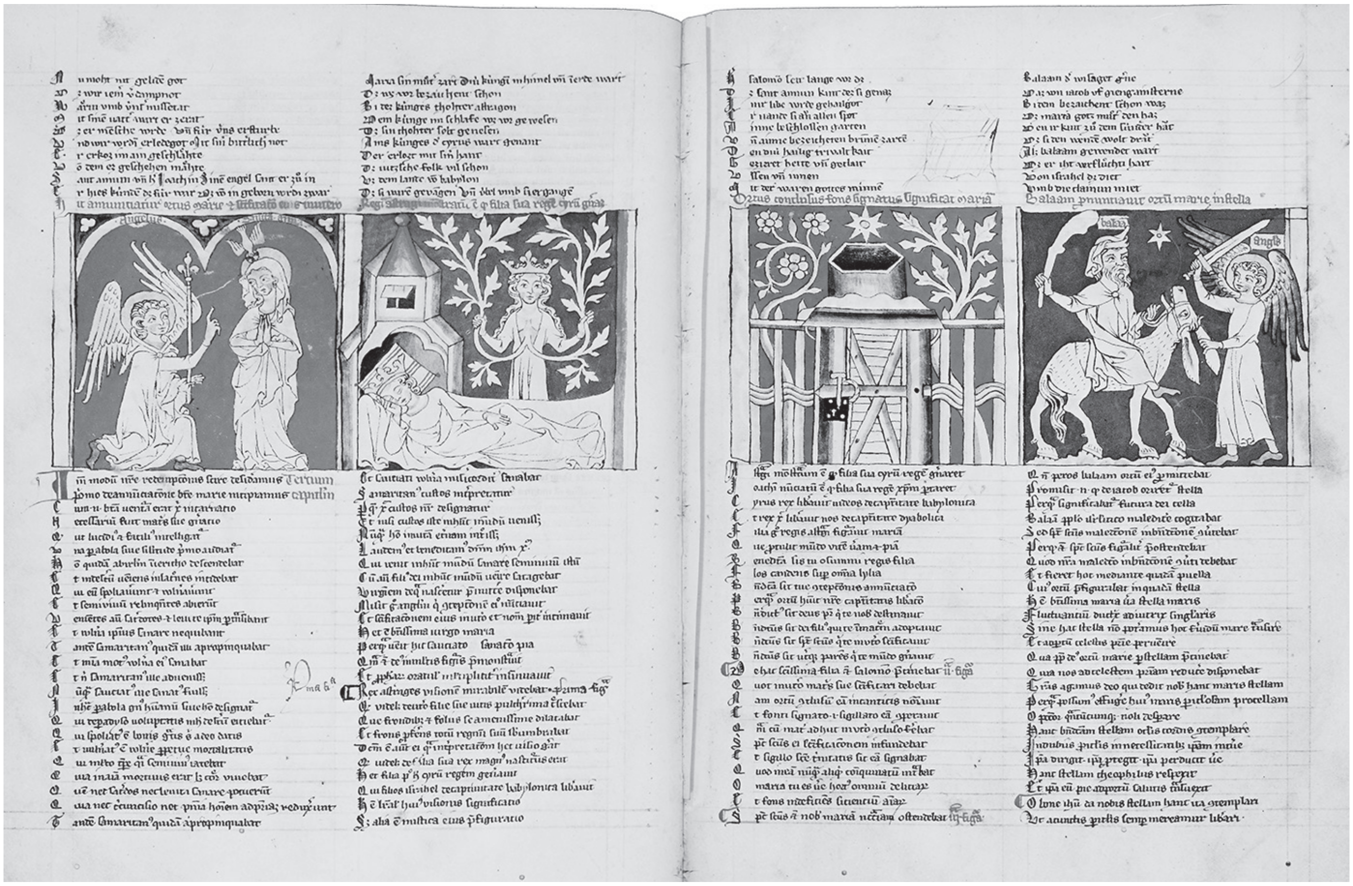

Figure 6.2. 'Annunciation to Anna and typological scenes', *Speculum humanae salvationis*, Kremsmünster, Library of the Convent, Cod. 243, fols 8v–9r. *c.* 1325–30. Reproduced with permission of the Convent of Kremsmünster.

sode from the Old Testament is used as a reference to Christ. This remarkably critical view of the interpretation and legibility of signs permeates the visual medium contained in the manuscript in Kremsmünster.

The manuscript in Kremsmünster is an excellent example of the active process of adaptating and reshaping the *Speculum humanae salvationis*, which was still a remarkably recent text.[18] This is said in reference to the versified German summaries of the text, which gloss each illustration, as well as the texts and images added to the Kremsmünster manuscript. The *Speculum humanae salvationis* contains a lot of didactic material, which was sourced from a wide variety of contexts. This is indeed a frequent phenomenon in the Middle Ages, where

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as they cut branches off a tree. Becker and others, *Aderlaß und Seelentrost*, no. 124 with illust.

[18] The work of Breitenbach, *Speculum humanae salvationis* has led scholars to believe that an early edition of the *Speculum humanae salvationis* illustrated with coloured pen-and-ink drawings like the Kremsmünster manuscript existed in addition to the plain-text version of the *Speculum humanae salvationis*. Breitenbach stresses (pp. 60–61) the wide range of variations in text and iconographic models in the *Speculum humanae salvationis* manuscripts despite their fixed structure. There is also an abundance of text additions, as becomes evident from the manuscripts catalogued by Breitenbach. However, these variations and additions have not been discussed in great detail by Breitenbach himself, nor by any other authors. The illumination of the *Speculum humanae salvationis* with its combination of primary New Testament illustrations and Old Testament precursory representations builds on the concept of the *Biblia pauperum* (cf. Cornell, *Biblia pauperum*). By leading the reader's eyes linearly across the double page, the images on the Kremsmünster-codex induce an autonomous, continuous viewing of the pictures. A more comprehensive understanding of the manuscript can then be achieved by reading the corresponding text. A similar structure of bands of images which accompany the text can be found in English Apocalypse manuscripts of the late thirteenth century. Klein, *Endzeiterwartung und Ritterideologie*; Lewis, 'The English Gothic Illuminated Apocalypse'. Other *Speculum humanae salvationis* manuscripts like Darmstadt, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, Hs. 2505 vary the combination of images by alternating full double-page illustrations with pages of text; cf. Appuhn, *Heilsspiegel*, pp. 79–135; *Heilsspiegel*, ed. by Krenn. The illuminated pages of the *Biblia pauperum* are only furnished with short annotations, but devoid of a more substantial explanatory text.

motifs were often modified and transferred to new contexts. Well-known examples are the Wheel of Fortune from Boethius's treatise on the *Consolatio philosophiae*,[19] or the allegorical Cherub from *De sex alis cherubim* by Alanus ab Insulis (also known as Alain de Lille).[20] The different locations of genealogical trees and the *Arbor Consanguinitatis* and the *Arbor Affinitatis* within the Kremsmünster-codex will be analysed below. I will also seek to identify the original context of the additional material included in the Kremsmünter *Speculum humanae salvationis* and discuss how it was modified and adapted to its present context.

The Trees of Virtues and Vices

In the *Speculum humanae salvationis* in Kremsmünster, explanatory texts about the virtues and vices precede every tree (Figures 6.3 and 6.6).[21] Similar renderings of the *Speculum humanae salvationis* supplemented by Trees of Virtues and Vices are found in several other manuscripts, most of which date to the fifteenth century.[22] The iconographic formula of the Tree of Virtues and Vices occurs first in the encyclopaedic *Liber floridus*, written by Lambert of Saint-Omer in *c.* 1120. It occupies the full double page before chapter CLXII, 'de bona arbore et mala' in Lambert's treatise (Ghent, Rijksuniversiteit, MS 92, fols 231^{v}–232^{r}) (Figure 6.7).

Both trees emerge from the spine of the book where the pages meet; the *arbor bona* (the good tree) is rooted in the principal virtue of *caritas* (charity) and the *arbor mala* (the bad tree) rises from the root of all evils, *cupiditas vel avaritia* (greed or avarice).[23] The motif of the Tree of Virtues and Vices was transferred to an explicitly moral-didactic context in the *Speculum virginum*. This treatise was designed as a fictitious, educational conversation between a male teacher, 'Magister Peregrinus', and his female student, the nun Theodora. The early copies of this text occur in Augustinian and Cistercian monasteries in the Rhineland.[24] In the *Speculum vir-*

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[19] Courcelle, *La Consolation de philosophie*, for discussion on the medieval understanding of the virtue Fortune pp. 127–39, and its pictorial representation pp. 65–86, 141–58.

[20] Alanus ab Insulis, *De sex alis cherubim*. This drawing appears in a penitential context in the composite manuscript Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 9572, from Niederaltaich (?), mid-thirteenth century: Raymundus de Pennaforti, *Summa de poenitentia et matrimonio*, pp. 276–80, *interpretatio arborum consanguinitatis et affinitatis* with *Arbor consanguinitatis* (in arrow shape), p. 279; *arbor affinitatis*, in front of Alanus ab Insulis, *De sex alis cherubim*, pp. 281–86 (p. 281, Cherub-Zeichnung); cf. Klemm, *Die illuminierten Handschriften*, no. 94. On the 'wandering' of diagrammatic or tabular lists, see Wittekind, 'Verum etiam sub alia forma depingere', pp. 278–79.

[21] An index of artworks with Trees of Virtues and Vices is offered in Hourihane, *Virtue & Vice*, pp. 323–24, 437–38.

[22] Cardon also mentions the Trees of Virtues and Vices in the manuscript in Brussels, Konigkl. Bib., MSS 9332–9346, by Jean de Stavelot of St Laurent/Lüttich, 1428. This version follows a German prototype, in which Old Testament scenes are substituted by pictures of prophets with banners. After the index panel on fols 119^{r}–120^{v}, the prologue follows on fols 120^{v}–121^{r}, then the Tree of Virtues and Vices on fol. 121^{v}, followed by fol. 122^{r}, which shows the Cherub of Alanus ab Insulis, fols 122^{v}–170^{r}, then the *Speculum humanae salvationis* (Cardon, *Manuscripts of the 'Speculum humane salvationis'*, no. 5 as well as pp. 73–74). The manuscript also contains texts about the lives and miracles as well as of the veneration of Laurence, the monastery's patron saint. The manuscript from Brussels is related to another manuscript in New York City, New York Public Libr., Spencer Coll., MS 15, Niederrhein 1410–20, fol. 1^{r} (Cardon, *Manuscripts of the 'Speculum humane salvationis'*, no. 18), Tree of Virtues and Vices; fol. 1^{v}, explanatory text with Trees; fols 2–49^{v}, *Speculum humanae salvationis*. Other examples are given by Breitenbach, *Speculum humanae salvationis*: Darmstadt, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, Hs. 720, fifteenth century (no. 17), containing a treatise on the seven cardinal virtues and the seven deadly sins with the *Arbor virtutum und vitiorum* at the beginning, after the proemium adding index and chapters 1–45 of the *Speculum humanae salvationis* (fols 2^{r}–54^{v}) and on fols 55^{r}–64^{v} the epistles and readings of the Gospels of the church year. Breitenbach mentions at no. 348 another manuscript in an older library index, which is apparently lost: 'Erfurt, Ehem. Kartause Salvatorberg Hs. 112 secundo mit Traktat de virtutibus et viciis, penitenciarius cum glosa'.

[23] Hünemörder, 'Lambert v. St. Omer'; Derolez, *The Autograph Manuscript of the Liber Floridus*. Derolez, *The Liber floridus colloquium 1967*; Dronke, 'Arbor caritatis', p. 227. Tollebeek, 'Arbor mala'. Cf. the *Liber floridus* from the third quarter of the twelfth century at Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf 1 Gud. Lat., fol. 68^{r} and fol. 68^{v}, *Liber floridus*; Cahn, *Romanesque Manuscripts*, II: *Catalogue*, no. 96, pp. 119–21. On the tradition of the Trees of Virtues and Vices, cf. O'Reilly, *Studies in the Iconography*, chap. 8, on the *Liber floridus* pp. 332–36.

[24] The miniatures precede each book, referring to its content; see *Speculum virginum — Jungfrauenspiegel*, ed. by Seyfarth, I, 7–66, here on the determination of the age and distribution of manuscripts pp. 22–23, on the text-image connection pp. 36–39. The virtues and vices are the subject of the fourth book, in which the two illuminated pages with illustrations of the Tree of Virtues and Vices are placed as frontispiece miniatures (cf. Cologne, Historisches Arch., MS W 276a, fols 11^{v}–12^{r}). In the manuscript from the Cistercian monastery of Ebersbach (London, BL, MS Arundel 44, 1140–50), the first book adopts the Song of Solomon metaphor of the *flos campi* and follows the introductory letter with a representation of the Tree of Jesse on fol. 2^{v} (*Speculum virginum — Jungfrauenspiegel*, ed. by Seyfarth, pls 1, 3–4; cf. Rehm, *Bebilderte Vaterunsererklärungen des Mittelalters*, p. 123. On the Trees of Virtues and Vices as well as the

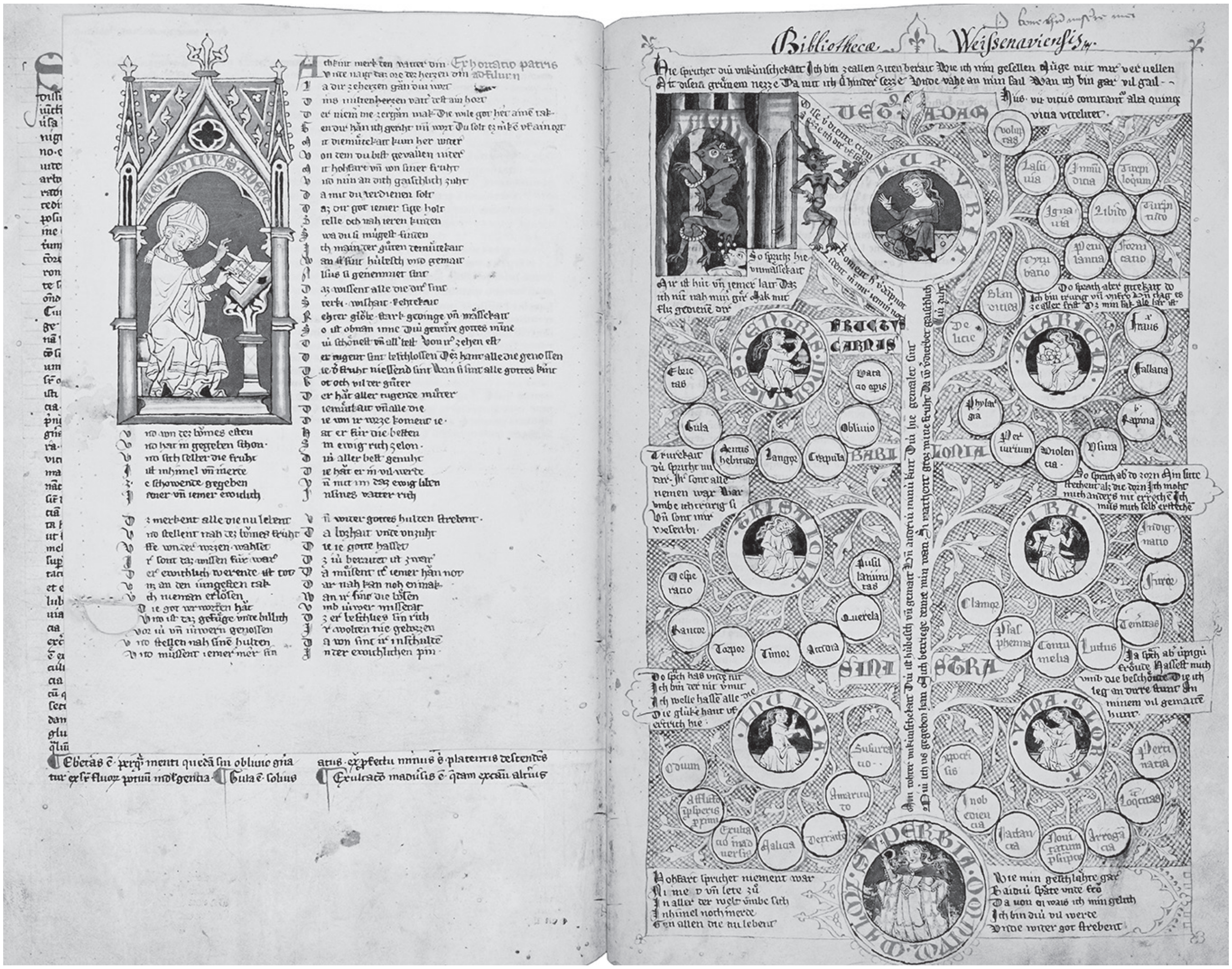

Figure 6.3. '*Exhortatio patris ad filium* and Tree of Vices', *Speculum humanae salvationis*, Kremsmünster, Library of the Convent, Cod. 243, fols 2^v–3^r. *c.* 1325–30. Reproduced with permission of the Convent of Kremsmünster.

ginum manuscripts, the double page with the Tree of Virtues and Vices prefaces the fourth book of the treatise 'de superbia et humilitate', which deals with pride and humility (Figure 6.8). The different context explains why *superbia* (pride) is chosen as the root of all evils, instead of *cupiditas*, and why *humilitas* (humility) takes the place of *caritas*. In the Cologne manuscript, the Tree of Vices is characterized by the dragons and snakes wound around its trunk and by its branches and leaves, which grow downwards. The thriving condition of the Tree of Virtues on the opposite page, on the other hand, is shown by its lush green colour and its upright branches. The symmetrical pattern of the trees, which visually establishes the hierarchy of the virtues and vices, is easily memorized, and its parallel arrangement invites the viewer's gaze to wander between the motifs in the branches, comparing and confronting them. Referring to these two trees, the subsequent dialogue between Peregrinus and Theodora counterbalances the perils and mental lapses of the nuns in the convent with the prospective joys of paradise.

In the Kremsmünster-codex, the Tree of Vices is placed at the beginning of the manuscript, before the text (and images) of the *Speculum humanae salvationis*. It follows two short treatises, a *Summa vitiorum* (Summary of the Vices) and a *Prologus de fructu carnis et spiritus* (Prologue about the Fruit of the Flesh and the Spirit) (fols 1^v–2^r), and a Middle High German translation of the *Adhortatio patris ad filium*, introduced by an

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Tree of Jesse in the *Speculum virginum*, see also O'Reilly, *Studies in the Iconography*.

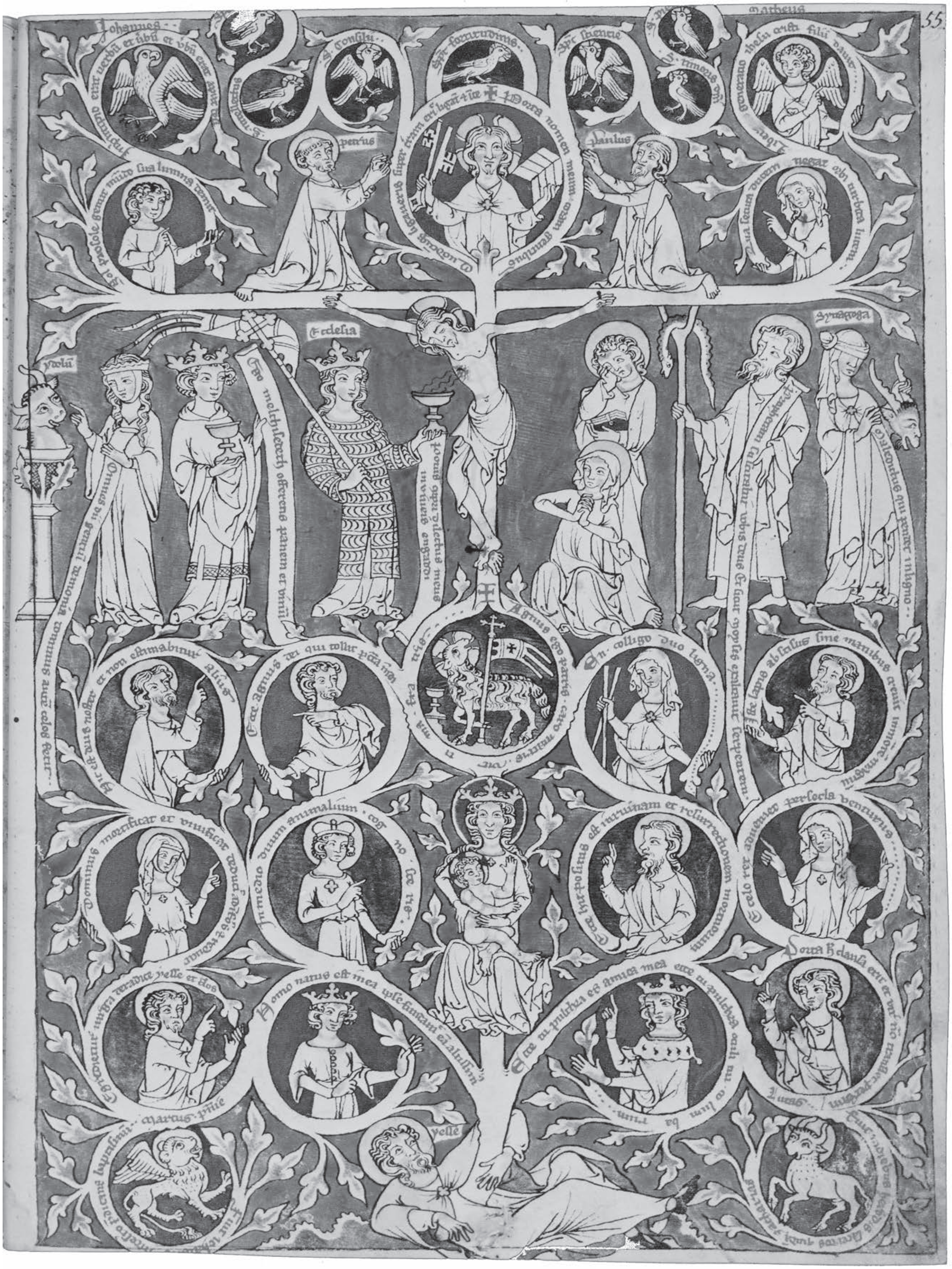
Johannes
Matheus
55
petrus
Paulus
Ecclesia
Synagoga
Jesse
Marcus
Lucas

Figure 6.4. 'Tree of Jesse', *Speculum humanae salvationis*, Kremsmünster, Library of the Convent, Cod. 243, fol. 55^{r}. *c.* 1325–30. Reproduced with permission of the Convent of Kremsmünster.

image of its author, Augustine (fol. 2^{v}).[25] It is noteworthy that the *Summa vitiorum* consists of excerpts from the fourth book of the *Speculum virginum*, in which the teacher Peregrinus briefly introduces the vices through reference to the Tree of Vices.[26] The *Prologus de fructu carnis et spiritus* in the *Speculum humanae salvationis* in Kremsmünster cites the beginning of the treatise *De fructibus carnis et spiritus*, formerly attributed to Hugh of Saint-Victor. In the Kremsmünster manuscript *humilitas* is placed at the summit as the fruit of the Holy Spirit, where it represents the principal virtue and path to salvation. It corresponds to *superbia*, shown on the facing page as the fruit of the flesh, the main vice and path towards evil.[27]

The inclusion of the excerpt from the *Summa vitiorum* and the image of the Tree of Vices in the Kremsmünster *Speculum humanae salvationis* (Figure 6.3) was directly influenced by the *Speculum virginum* (Figure 6.8). The Tree of Vices in both the Kremsmünster-codex and the *Speculum virginum* are rooted in *superbia* and crowned by *luxuria* (lust). These vices are represented by allegorical figures in medallions placed along the central axis.[28] They are identified by their Latin names. The principal vices are linked to subsidiary vices, which are characterized by their activities and located in the medallion next to the trunk. Dangling circular shapes replace the leaves of the *Speculum virginum*.[29] Each vice addresses the reader in vernacular texts which complement the image: 'Hie spruchet diu unkunschekait: Ich bin ze allen ziten berait, Wie ich min gesellen muge mit mir vervellen in disem gruenem nezze' (Here speaks Lust: I am always ready to dwell with my companion in this green net). The Tree of Vices is silhouetted against a dark background of woven pen-and-ink lines which resemble a fine net. The medallions containing the images of the principal vices have dark backgrounds, while those of the subsidiary vices have a black frame. The repetition of visual signs is meaningful and also occurs in other cases: a red devil in the fiery black den of hell is shown chained to a column or a tree trunk; at his feet, a naked sinner looks up at him. On the right side of the page, a black devil steps out of a gate to present the crown to the enthroned figure of *luxuria*, as a symbol of her reign over the other vices. *Luxuria* is shown turning towards the devil to greet him. This juxtaposition of the devil in chains and the devil as seducer is used again in the scene illustrating the punishment of the damned in the dark jaws of hell on fol. 46^{v} of the *Speculum humanae salvationis*, and again, although slightly modified, in the depiction of the Harrowing of Hell on fol. 36^{v}. The devils from the page of the Tree of Vices also appear in other scenes of the *Speculum humanae salvationis*: at the very beginning in the Fall of Angels (fol. 6^{v}), next to the suffering figure of Job (fol. 263^{r}), struck down with the cross by the risen Christ (fol. 34^{v}), and at the feet of Ecclesia (fol. 35^{v}). Reflection on the virtues and the vices is a constant theme throughout the text of the *Speculum humanae salvationis*, particularly in the context of the Last Judgement.[30]

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[25] The text has not yet been identified. Since fol. 1^{r} is used as a protective sheet and is therefore blank, the space on fol. 1^{v} obviously was not sufficient for the intended excerpts and vernacular verses, so a smaller page had to be inserted between the two first pages of the quaternion (fol. 2). The continuation of the *Summa vitiorum* on fol. 2^{r} is written in longer lines, which distinguishes it from the general layout of the rest of the text.

[26] The excerpt combines different didactic passages from the speech of Peregrinus in the *Speculum virginum*. It starts with *Si adverteris* and then follows the wording of the *Speculum virginum* (cf. *Speculum virginum — Jungfrauenspiegel*, ed. by Seyfarth, II, 288–89): '[Iunge] filia, similibus similia et partium aequalitas utrorumlibet excellentiam prohibet. Si vero dissimilia contuleris dissimilibus, ex altero magis patet diversitas alterius. Sique [...] — ex sanctae humilitatis [instead of: *ubertate*] dulcedine.' Another paragraph follows with the long monologue of Peregrinus (pp. 294–301), in which he explains that 'Superbia est singularis excellentiae super alios caecus quidam appetitus [...] — Loquacitas est conusa et stulta verborum superfluitate cordis levitatem aperire' (fol. 1^{v}). However the sequence of vices is often placed in an inverse order to that of the *Speculum virginum*.

[27] (Ps-)Hugh of Saint-Victor, *Commentarium in hierarchiam celestem*, col. 997. The attribution of the text to Conrad von Hirsau is widely accepted; cf. Bloomfield and others, *Incipits of Latin Works*, no. 1164; Kremsmünster, Library of the Convent, Cod. 243 is missing among the manuscripts cited in this article. In a mid-twelfth-century theological miscellany from Salzburg (Salzburg, Universitätsbibliothek, M I 32) this excerpt is introduced by a double page with a Tree of Virtues and Vices (fols 75^{v}–76^{r}), identical in structure to the same Tree in the *Speculum virginum*. For further discussion of the manuscript, see Koll, 'Verzeichnis der Handschriftenfragmente'; *Theologische Sammelhandschrift*. This shows how quickly the pictorial concept of the Tree of Virtues and Vices was disseminated.

[28] The figure of *Luxuria* (lust) replaces the *vetus Adam* in the *Speculum virginum*. In the Kremsmünster manuscript Adam is mentioned only in the inscription.

[29] In the Tree of Vices in the *Speculum virginum* of Cologne, the medallions of *Ira* (Wrath) and *Invidia* (Envy) have changed places.

[30] Lutz and Perdrizet, *Speculum humanae salvationis*, chap. 27, p. 76: 'Mundus iste totus positus est in maligno, | Creatorem suum non venerans honore condigno. | Ubique enim jam caritas et veritas periclitantur, | superbia, avaritia et luxuria dominantur. | His tribus vitiis mundus repletus jam videtur, | Et rarus est, qui de his innox-

The positive colour symbolism and the lush growth of the Tree of Virtues, which follows the *Summa virtutum*, stands in marked contrast to the negative visual connotations of the Tree of Vices (fol. 4^{r}) (Figure 6.6).[31] Similarly to the *Speculum virginum*, the Tree of Virtues emerges from *Humilitas*, the principal virtue. It is interesting to note that the circumscription on the medallion refers to the virtue as 'radix omnium. Hierosolima' ('root of all: Jerusalem'). Humility is shown as one of the works of mercy, a woman with a crown and halo, who is washing a man's feet. The woman may represent the church: Ecclesia. She could also be identified as St Elisabeth of Hungary, who was one of the most popular female saints of the late Middle Ages. At the summit of the Tree there is a medallion containing the Madonna and Child, who leans away from her lap. The circumscription, 'Karitas est deus' (Charity is God) (cf. 1 John 4. 16) links the image to the medallion at the base of the tree, from which the tree trunk emerges. In contrast to the Tree of Vices, the Tree of Virtues is characterized by its vivid colourfulness: the yellow branches, the red and green leaves, and the medallions framed in red. This portrayal of the tree as a living and thriving entity also marks the representation of the Trees of Paradise at the beginning of the *Speculum humanae salvationis*, where additional emphasis is placed on the fruit of the tree (fol. 7$^{r–v}$). These examples demonstrate how colours and subjects are used to link scenes and topics throughout the pages of the manuscript.

The Tree of Jesse

The form of the Tree of Virtues and Vices is modified in the representation of the Tree of Jesse (fol. 55^{r}) (Figure 6.4). The Tree of Jesse is placed immediately after the text of the *Speculum humanae salvationis* together with the last set of scenes illustrating the Passion of Christ and the Seven Sorrows and Seven Joys of the Virgin. Seven hours of prayer are dedicated to each episode. These meditations on the Liturgy of the Hours also follow the *Speculum humanae salvationis* in terms of its layout, which situates the sequence of images above the Latin text and underneath its vernacular abridgement (up to fol. 49^{v}).[32] The images representing these meditations on the Passion and the Virgin Mary are reflections of scenes in the *Speculum humanae salvationis* part of the manuscript. Thus, these later motifs and episodes repeat, modify, and interpret the original illustrations.[33] At the same time, the typological and exegetical interpretation of the childhood and Passion of Christ in the *Speculum humanae salvationis* encourages meditation, aimed at compassion, confession of sin, and a plea for salvation.[34] This complex web of references shows how one single motif can be used to illustrate different religious approaches and link them together.

As was common in twelfth-century representations of the Tree of Jesse, the tree emerges from the side of Jesse, the father of David.[35] Similarly to other manuscripts of

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ius et immunis habetur. | Quidam fugiunt luxuriam, tenentes castitatem, | Qui tamen sordiantur per avaritiae cupiditatem. Quidam fugiunt avaritiam, tenentes paupertatem, | Qui tamen maculantur per superbiae vanitatem.'

[31] The *Summa virtutum* (Kremsmünster, Library of the Convent, Cod. 243, fol. 3^{v}) begins with a definition of humility which is regularly quoted: 'Humilitas est ex intuitu propriae conditionis vel conditoris voluntaria inclinatio mentis' (Humility is the voluntary bow of the mind before one's creation and the Creator). It was already used in Conrad of Hirsau, *De fructibus carnis et spiritus*, c. 11 (Conrad of Hirsau, *De fructibus carnis et spiritus*, col. 1002). Cf. Bloomfield and others, *Incipits of Latin Works*, no. 2449. The distribution of the text is discussed in the list of manuscripts described in Newhauser and Bejczy, *A Supplement to Morton W. Bloomfield*, no. 2449, pp. 162–63. The same quotation can be found in the fourth book of the *Speculum virginum*; see *Speculum virginum — Jungfrauenspiegel*, ed. by Seyfarth, IV, 300), directly after the definitions of the Vices, which parallel those in the *Summa vitiorum* in the Kremsmünster-codex.

[32] Lutz and Perdrizet, *Speculum humanae salvationis*, pp. 88–99. According to the information in the text, this ensemble of texts — *De septem stationibus passionis christi, De septem stationibus passionis Christi, De septem tristitiis Beatae Virginis Mariae* — was written by a member of the order of preachers ('Frater quidam in ordine fratrum Praedicatorum erat': Lutz and Perdrizet, *Speculum humanae salvationis*, p. 100); it is often found in connection with the *Speculum humanae salvationis*.

[33] The illustrations which correspond to the meditations on the Passion and Mary are repetitions or variations of illustrated scenes in the *Speculum humanae salvationis*. Examples from the infancy narratives in the Kremsmünster-codex are the Annunciation (fol. 12^{v}, fol. 52^{v}), the Birth of Christ (fol. 13^{v}, fol. 53^{r}), the Adoration of the Magi (fol. 14^{v}, fol. 53^{v}), the Presentation of Jesus in the Temple (fols 15^{v}, 50^{v}, 53^{v}), and the Flight into Egypt (fol. 16^{v}, fol. 51^{r}). Examples from the Passion are the Last Supper (fol. 21^{v}, fol. 48^{v}), the Flagellation of Christ (fol. 25^{v}, fol. 49^{v}), the Carrying of the Cross (fol. 27^{v}, fol. 48^{v}, fol. 50^{r}), and the Crucifixion (fol. 29^{v}, fol. 50^{r}, fol. 51^{v}). Some new pictorial themes are introduced, such as the Visitation (fol. 53^{r}), the Twelve-Year-Old Jesus Teaching in the Temple on fol. 51^{r}, the Agony in the Garden on fol. 49^{r}, and the Ecce homo, fol. 49^{v}.

[34] Each paragraph of the meditation on the Passion (Lutz and Perdrizet, *Speculum humanae salvationis*, pp. 89–91) is introduced by an acknowledgement on the part of the narrator of Christ's suffering 'for me' (*propter me*).

[35] Isaiah 11. 1: 'And there shall come forth a rod out of the root of Jesse, and a flower shall rise up out of his root'; Apocalypse 22. 16: 'I am the root and stock of David'; Romans 15. 12: 'And again, Isaias

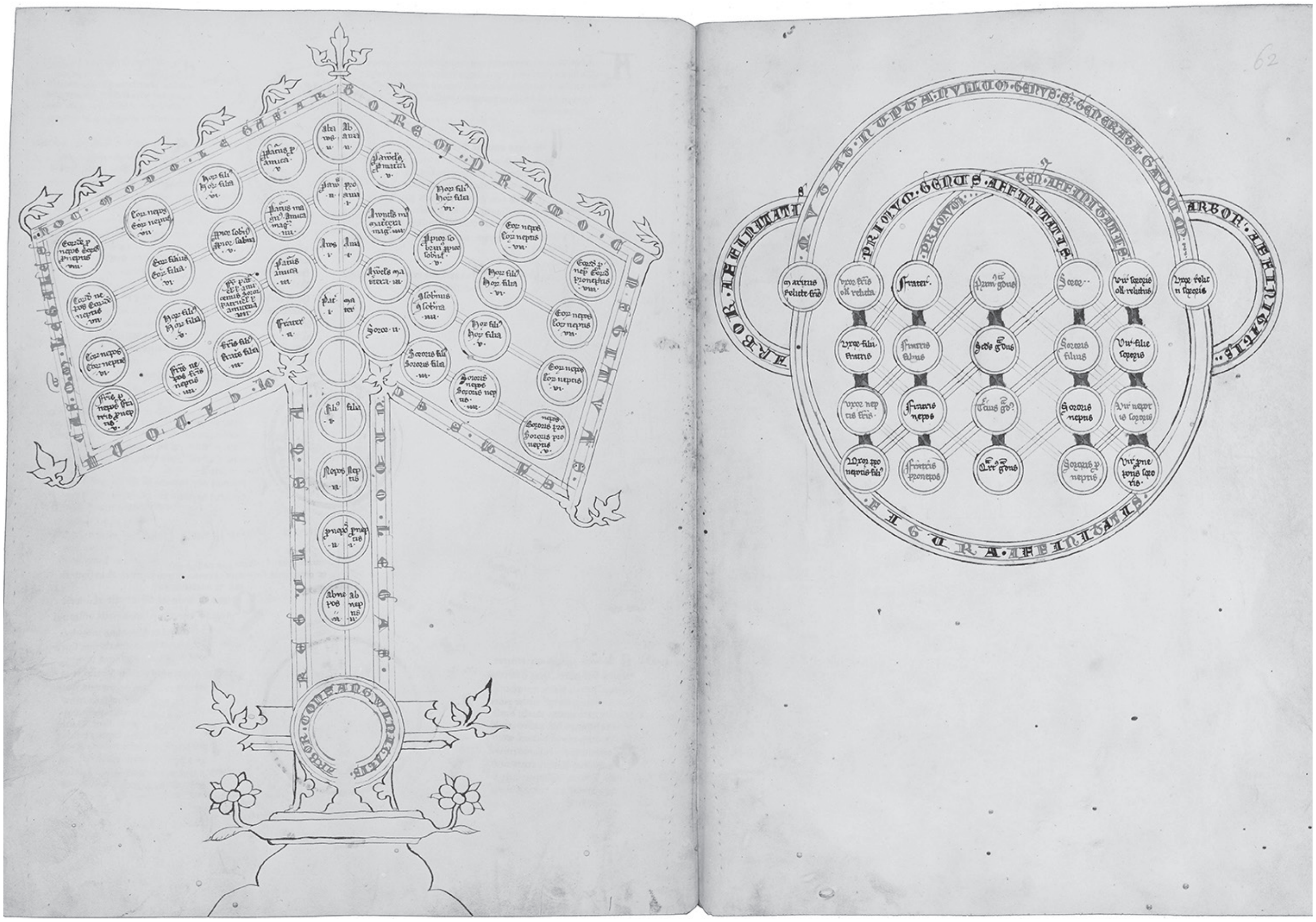

Figure 6.5. '*Arbor consanguitatis* and *Arbor affinitatis*', *Speculum humanae salvationis*, Kremsmünster, Library of the Convent, Cod. 243, fols 61ᵛ–62ʳ. *c.* 1325–30. Reproduced with permission of the Convent of Kremsmünster.

strong Mariological character, the Old Testament forefathers between David and Christ are omitted.[36] The sequence is continued with the enthroned figure of Mary holding her naked child on her lap; Mary herself is the *virga* ('stem') and Christ is the *flos* ('flower') of her womb, as Isaiah (11. 1) predicted: 'Et egreditur virga de radice jesse et flos de radice eius ascendet' (And there shall come forth a rod out of the stem of Jesse, and a branch shall grow out of his roots). New growth branches out on both sides of the trunk to form medallions enclosing busts of prophets and figures from the Old Testament. These figures are set against blue and green backgrounds and hold tendril-like scrolls. Inscribed on the scrolls are quotes from their writings which were understood typologically as prophecies of Christ the Messiah. The trunk of the tree divides above the representation of the Virgin Mary, and its branches form a medallion which holds the Agnus Dei with the chalice and cross. At the centre of the page the cross is incorporated in the *virga* Jesse. In contrast, the typologically expanded Crucifixion scene interrupts the pattern of tendrils and medallions, and portrays its unframed figures against a red background.[37] Beneath the cross, to Christ's right,

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saith: There shall be a root of Jesse; and he that shall rise up to rule the Gentiles shall hope'. Bogen, *Träumen und Erzählen*, pp. 235–60; Bogen, 'Träumt Jesse?'.

[36] An example of this omission can be seen in the frontispiece of 'Wernhers Lieder von der Magd' (Wernher's Songs about the Maiden) in Kraków, Jagellion Libr., MS germ. oct. 109, fol. 1ᵛ, which was illustrated in Regensburg around 1220; see Klemm, 'Die Regensburger Buchmalerei des 12. Jahrhunderts', no. 47, pl. 122; cf. frontispiece of a Flavius Josephus manuscript from Scheyern, *c.* 1225 (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 17404, fol. 1ʳ), Klemm, *Die illuminierten Handschriften*, no. 13, I, 36–38.

[37] Although there are some representations of the Tree of Jesse where scenes of the life of Jesus are shown in the central medallions, as for example in the choir window of Saint Kunibert, Cologne, 1220s (Brinkmann, 'Die mittelalterlichen Glasmalereien'), only in the *Speculum humanae salvationis* of Weissenau is the Crucifixion

Ecclesia is shown, wearing a crown and chain armour over her robe — similar to the armed virtues in Herrad of Landsberg's *Hortus deliciarum*.[38] In her right hand, Ecclesia carries a staff with a cross and a flag. With the chalice in her left hand, she collects the blood emerging from Christ's wound. Behind her, the Old Testament priest and king Melchizedek is portrayed with a similar gesture wearing a crown and carrying a chalice. Behind him, a woman appears, pointing to an idol in the form of a bull's head. Facing them on the other side of the cross are the lamenting figures of John the Evangelist and the Virgin. Behind them, Moses looks towards the cross and the brazen snake in front of him, in a scene prefiguring Christ rising from the cross (Numbers 21. 6–9 and John 3. 14). The figure of Synagogue, blindfolded, turns away from the cross; in her hands she carries the head of a sacrificial goat.[39] The vertical beam of the cross ends in a medallion framing a bust of Christ, who holds an open book and the keys to Heaven and Hell in his raised right hand (Matthew 16. 19; Apocalypse 1. 18). Kneeling on the horizontal beam of the cross, the patron saints of the Premonstratensian monastery of Weissenau, Peter and Paul, turn in adoration towards Christ in Judgement. In the canopy of the tree seven doves represent the Seven Gifts of the Holy Spirit (Isaiah 11). Different elements from the Tree of Jesse composition reappear throughout the images of the *Speculum humanae salvationis*: the living cross flanked by Mary and John, for example, is used in a simple, symmetrical composition for the Crucifixion scene on fol. 29^{v}. The sinuous foliated trunk, which emerges from the sleeping Jesse, holds in its canopy the Seven Gifts of the Holy Spirit as a remedy against the deadly sins. It reappears in a slightly modified form as the Old Testament type prefiguring the antitype for the Birth of Mary on fol. 9^{v} (Figure 6.1). The Seven Gifts in this second tree are *tactus* (touch), *odor* (smell), *fructus* (fruit), *color* (colour), *folia* (leaves), *succus* (juice), and *gustus* (taste), thus referring to *medicinalia* or remedies for human illness resulting from sin. This is taken directly from the Latin explanatory notes in the text of the Kremsmünster *Speculum humanae salvationis*.[40] The image of the Birth of Mary in the Kremsmünster-codex is exceptional, because it does not follow the common iconography of representing Anne reclining on her bed after childbirth, but instead portrays Mary between Anne and Joachim under a double arcade. The Virgin stands on the bed, supported by her parents. Although she is child-like, she appears crowned as the Queen of Heaven. In the composition, she substitutes the load-bearing column of the architecture, and new shoots of foliage are shown growing in the spandrel above her head. This innovative iconography calls attention to the role of Mary as the *virga* from which Christ descends, and thus recalls the pictorial representation of the Tree of Jesse. In a similar way, the motif of foliage emerging from a body is used again in the illustrations of the Annunciation of the Birth of Mary to her mother Anne and the dream of King Astyages of Tyre and the Median Empire (Figure 6.1), as already explained in greater detail above.

Genealogia Christi

Although the ancestors of Christ from the Old Testament are not shown in the Tree of Jesse, where emphasis is placed on Mariological and theological argument, the genealogy of Christ is represented in full at the end of the manuscript (fols 56^{r}–61^{r}) (Figure 6.9).[41] By beginning with Adam rather than Jesse or King David, Christ's genealogy is embedded in a historical reflection of both the world and salvation. The complex and variable layout of the *Genealogia Christi* is integrated in the schematic text of a chronicle, making the association of individual paragraphs with the rulers mentioned in the medallions easier. This differs from the illustrations of the Trees of Virtues and Vices, where the explana-

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highlighted in this particular manner.

[38] *Hortus deliciarum*, fols 199v-204r (*Psychomachia*); the manuscript, a theological encyclopaedia, was conceived by Herrad of Landsberg for her convent of Augustinian Canonesses in the twelfth century; the original burned in 1870; see Green and others, *Hortus deliciarum*, I: *Commentary*, II: *Reconstruction*. On the fighting Virtues in the *Hortus deliciarum*, see Willeke, 'Ordo und Ethos im Hortus Deliciarum'.

[39] The figures of Ecclesia and Synagoga, Melchizedek and Moses have been commonly used in the iconographic programmes of portable altars since the twelfth century; see Wittekind, *Altar — Reliquiar — Retabel*, pp. 89–104, 108–19.

[40] *Tactus*, the touch of the rose, Christ, liberates one from pride; its odour (*odor*) banishes hardness of the heart; *fructus* calms rage; colour replaces rotten fruit; leaves counterbalance avarice; juice (*succus*) confounds lust of the palate; taste (*gustus*) foils carnal lust; cf. *Speculum humanae salvationis*, ed. by Neumüller, p. 25; Lutz and Perdrizet, *Speculum humanae salvationis*, pp. 10–11.

[41] The genealogy follows the model of Peter of Poitiers's *Compendium historiae in genealogia Christi*: Holladay, 'Charting the Past', p. 122; Worm, '"Ista est Ierusalem"'; see the article in this volume by Andrea Worm, '*Arbor humanum genus significat*: Trees of Genealogy and Sacred History in the Twelfth Century'.

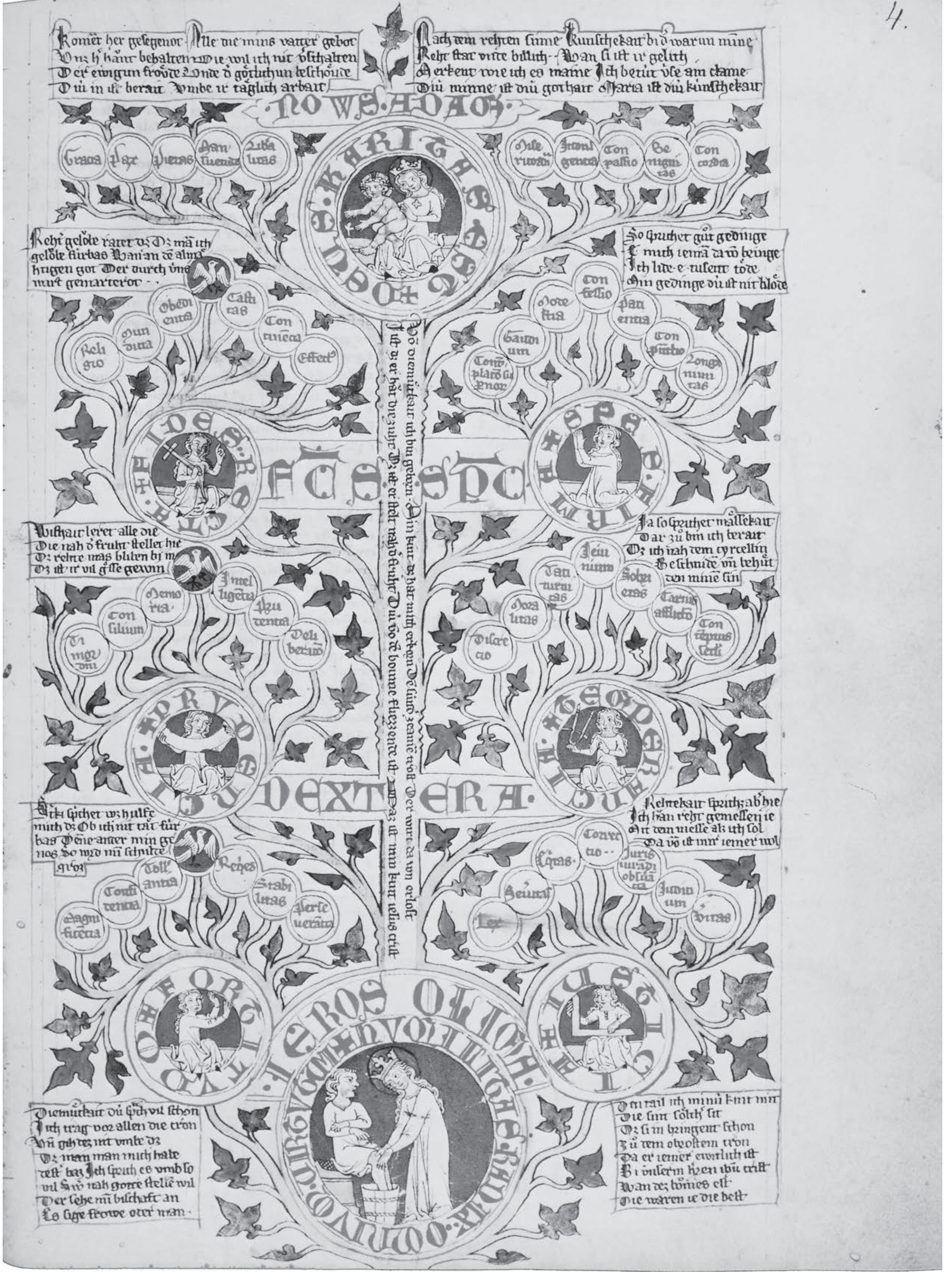

Figure 6.6. '*Summa virtutum*, Tree of Virtues, and Tree of Vices', *Speculum humanae salvationis*, Kremsmünster, Library of the Convent, Cod. 243, fols 3^{v}–4^{r}. *c.* 1325–30. Reproduced with permission of the Convent of Kremsmünster.

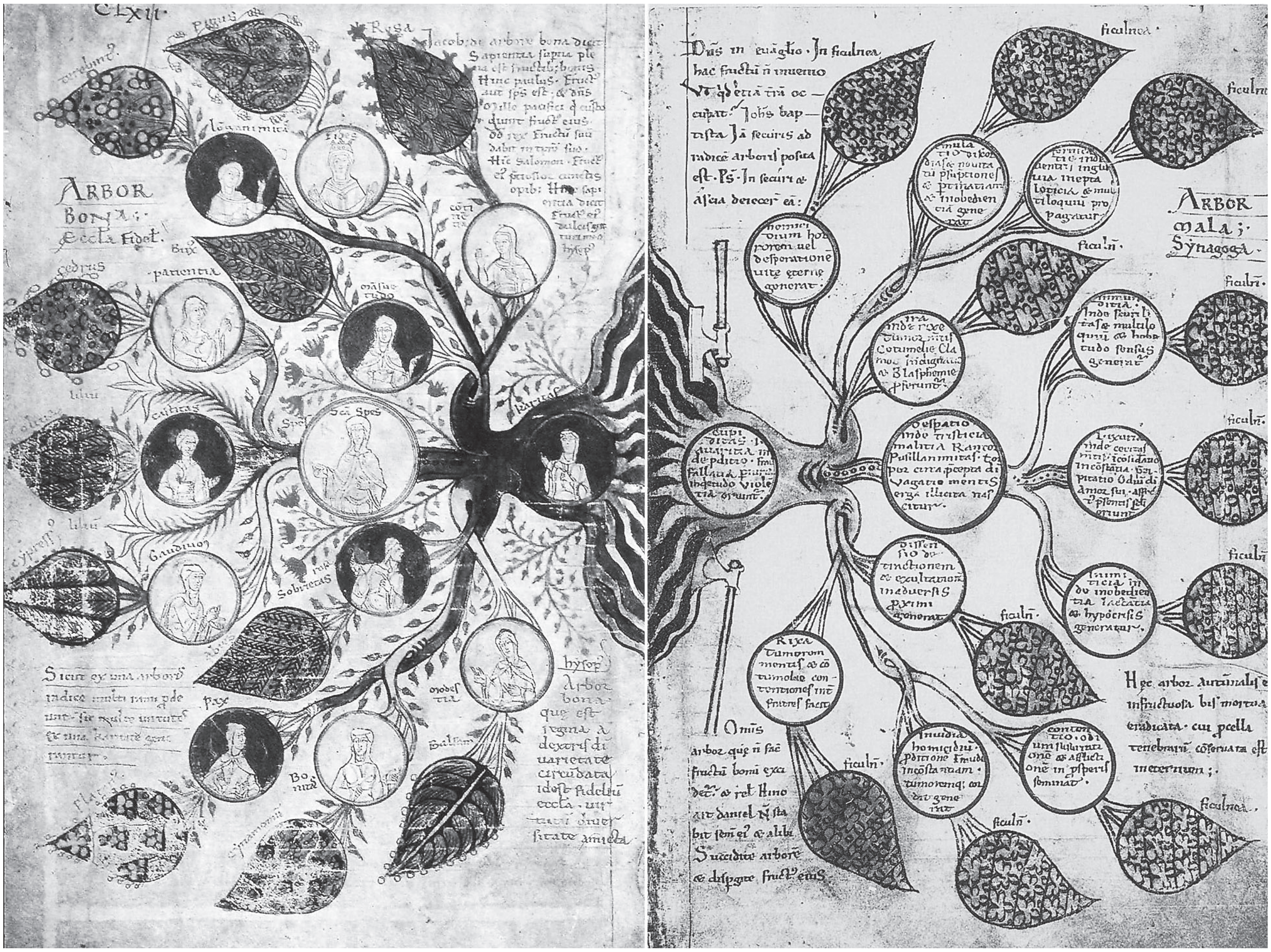

Figure 6.7. '*Arbor mala* and *arbor bona*', Lambert of Saint Omer, *Liber floridus*, Ghent, Rijksuniversiteit, MS 92, fols 231^{v}–232^{r}. *c.* 1120. Reproduced with permission of the Rijksuniversiteit, Ghent.

tory Middle High German texts are situated behind the foliated scheme. The *Genealogia Christi* is connected to the Trees of Virtues and Vices at the beginning of the manuscript by its formal structure. Despite its lack of twisting vine and tree symbolism, its conception as a medallion chain of names and its emphasis on the initial role of Adam, makes the *Genealogia Christi* similar to the representations of the Virtues and Vices. In fact the Tree of Vices is labelled 'Vetus Adam […] Babilonia sinistra' and the Tree of Virtues bears the inscription 'Novus Adam […] sanctus spiritus dextera' in reference to Christ. The Six Ages of the World are illustrated in enlarged medallions. The figures within them can be identified as Adam and Noah (fol. 56^{r}), King David (fol. 58^{r}), King Matathias (fol. 59^{v}), Anne and Joachim, Mary, and Christ, who is surrounded by medallions with the names of the twelve Apostles (fol. 61^{r}). Their portraits and names can also be associated with other images within the *Speculum humanae salvationis*: for example Abraham and his encounter with Mechizedek is directly related to the Last Supper (fols 21^{v}–22^{r}), and the sacrifice of Isaac corresponds to Christ carrying the cross (fols 27^{v}–28^{r}). King David is given special significance due to the number of Davidic scenes within the *Speculum humanae salvationis*. In the representation of David's victory over Goliath, the lion and the bear are used in reference to Christ's triumph over the devil (fols 18^{v}–19^{r}). As the rueful sinner, David corresponds to the figure of Mary Magdalen at the banquet (fols 19^{v}–20^{r}); as the musician threatened by Saul, he is linked to the figure of Christ during the betrayal of Judas (fols 23^{v}–24^{r}), and Shemaiah's mockery of him

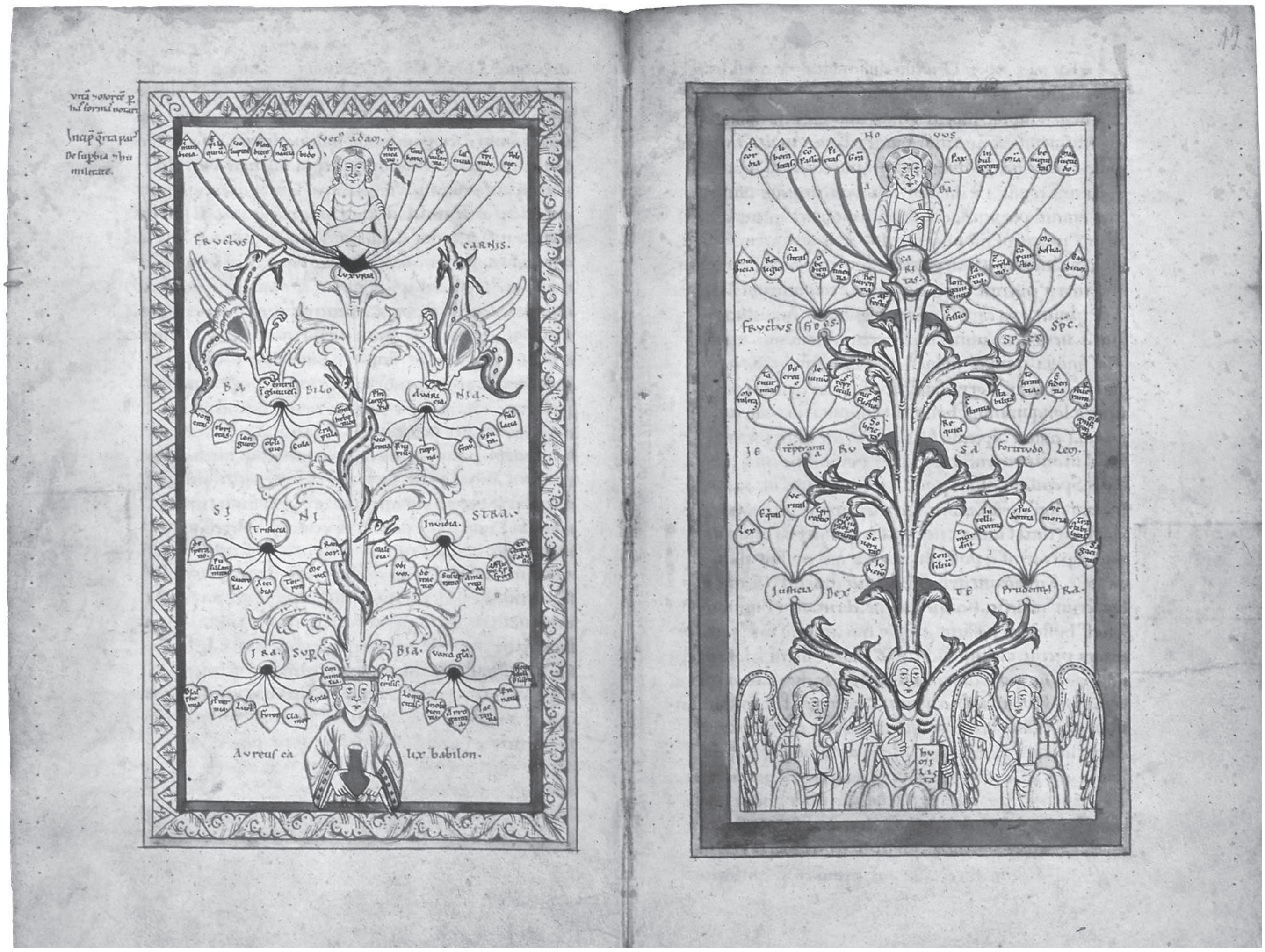

Figure 6.8. 'Trees of Virtues and Vices', *Speculum virginum*, Cologne, Historisches Archiv, MS W 276a, fols 11^{v}–12^{r}. *c.* 1140–1150. Reproduced with permission of the Historisches Archiv, Cologne.

foretells the mockery of Christ (fols 26^{v}–27^{r}).[42] These corresponding images allow the historical and typological reading of the biblical story to become intrinsically interconnected. Such a reading, when aided by diagrammatic and pictorial representation, therefore permits both historical and typological perspectives to be invoked at the same time. A picture of Noah's Ark is inserted in this genealogy (on fol. 56^{v}), accompanied by a brief explanation of its measurements. Whereas at the beginning of the *Speculum humanae salvationis* (fol. 8^{r}) the story of Noah's Ark is represented within the Genesis cycle in an episode illustrating the dove returning to the Ark with the olive branch, this scene focuses on the interior of the Ark. Its shape is surprising, with its towering walls with lancet windows which support an arched ceiling.[43] Thus, a reference to the exegetical-theological interpretation of the Ark as a symbol of the church and the monastic community is added to the historically experienced view.[44]

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[42] For a survey of medieval interpretations of David, see Wittekind, *Kommentar mit Bildern*, pp. 68–161.

[43] According to the inscription, the highest chamber on the upper level is allocated to the humans and birds, the two below are occupied by different animals, another level with a wine barrel and vessels is identified as the *camera apotecaria*, and the darkest lowest chamber is in the bilge (*camera sentina*).

[44] Rahner, *Symbole der Kirche*, pp. 504–47; Wittekind, 'Passion und Ostern'.

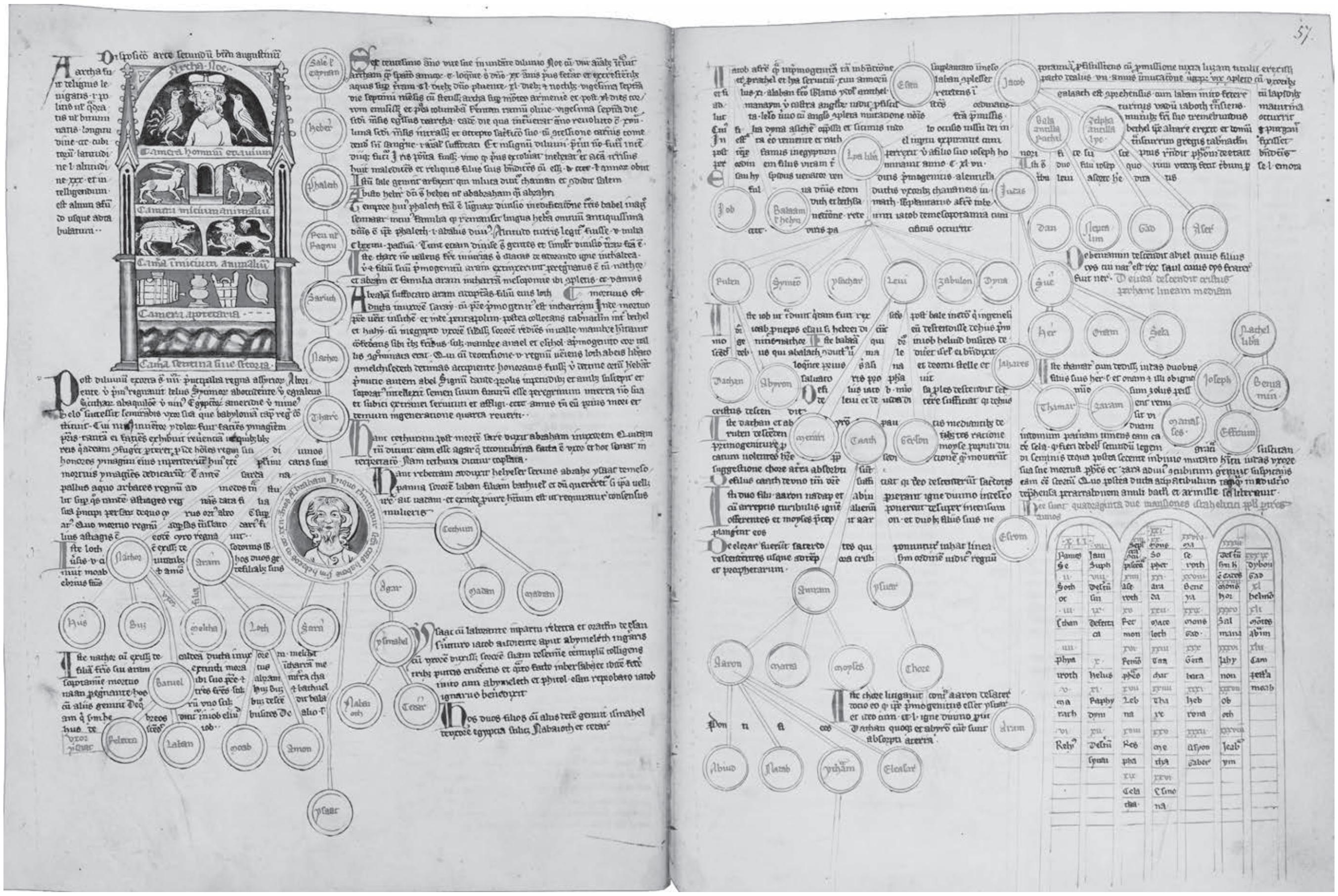

Figure 6.9. '*Genealogia Christi*', *Speculum humanae salvationis*, Kremsmünster, Library of the Convent, Cod. 243, fols 56^{v}–57^{r}. *c*. 1325–30. Reproduced with permission of the Convent of Kremsmünster.

'Arbores consanguinitatis et affinitatis' (Trees of Consanguinity and Affinity)

The manuscript of the *Speculum humanae salvationis* in Kremsmünster concludes with a double-page illustration of the *arbor consanguinitatis* and an *arbor affinitatis* (fols 61^{v}–62^{r}) (Figure 6.5). As early as 533 kinship diagrams are mentioned in Emperor Justinian's *Institutiones* as a didactic means to obtain a better understanding of the degrees of blood relationship.[45] The Trees of Consanguinity and Affinity were used primarily for resolving questions of inheritance. In the early Middle Ages stemmata, known as *ramisculi*, were included to clarify family relationships at the end of Book IX. 6 in Isidore of Seville's *Etymologiae*. These diagrams were usually triangular or in the shape of a tree.[46] This tradition directly influenced the leafy ornamentation of the frame and the placement of the stemma on a richly adorned pedestal in the representation of the *arbor consanguinitatis* in the Kremsmünster-codex.[47] Due to its relevance to matrimonial law, the *arbor consanguinitatis* was widely disseminated in works of canon law, for example in the *Canones* by Burkhard of Worms (d. 1025), in the *Panormia* by Ivo of Chartres (d. 1115), and in other legal compendia. In manuscripts of the *Decretum Gratiani*, for example,

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[45] Fundamental reading for understanding the *Arbores consanguinitatis* is Schadt, *Die Darstellungen der Arbores consanguinitatis und der Arbores affinitatis*, p. 22, which also contains the quote and the translation of the corresponding *Institutiones* 3.6.9.

[46] Schadt, *Die Darstellungen der Arbores consanguinitatis und der Arbores affinitatis*, pp. 61–62, 70–71, 77, on the tree motif pp. 79–80. Isidore of Sevilla, *Etymologiarum sive originum libri XX*, ed. by Lindsay, IX, chap. 5: *De adfinitatibus et gradibus*, chap. 6: *De agnatis et cognatis*; Möller, *Die Enzyklopädie des Isidor von Sevilla*, pp. 353–61.

[47] Cf. Schadt, *Die Darstellungen der Arbores consanguinitatis und der Arbores affinitatis*, pp. 67, 79–80, fig. 21 (*Etymologiae*, Montpellier, Ecole de Méd., MS 53, ninth century, fol. 136^{r}).

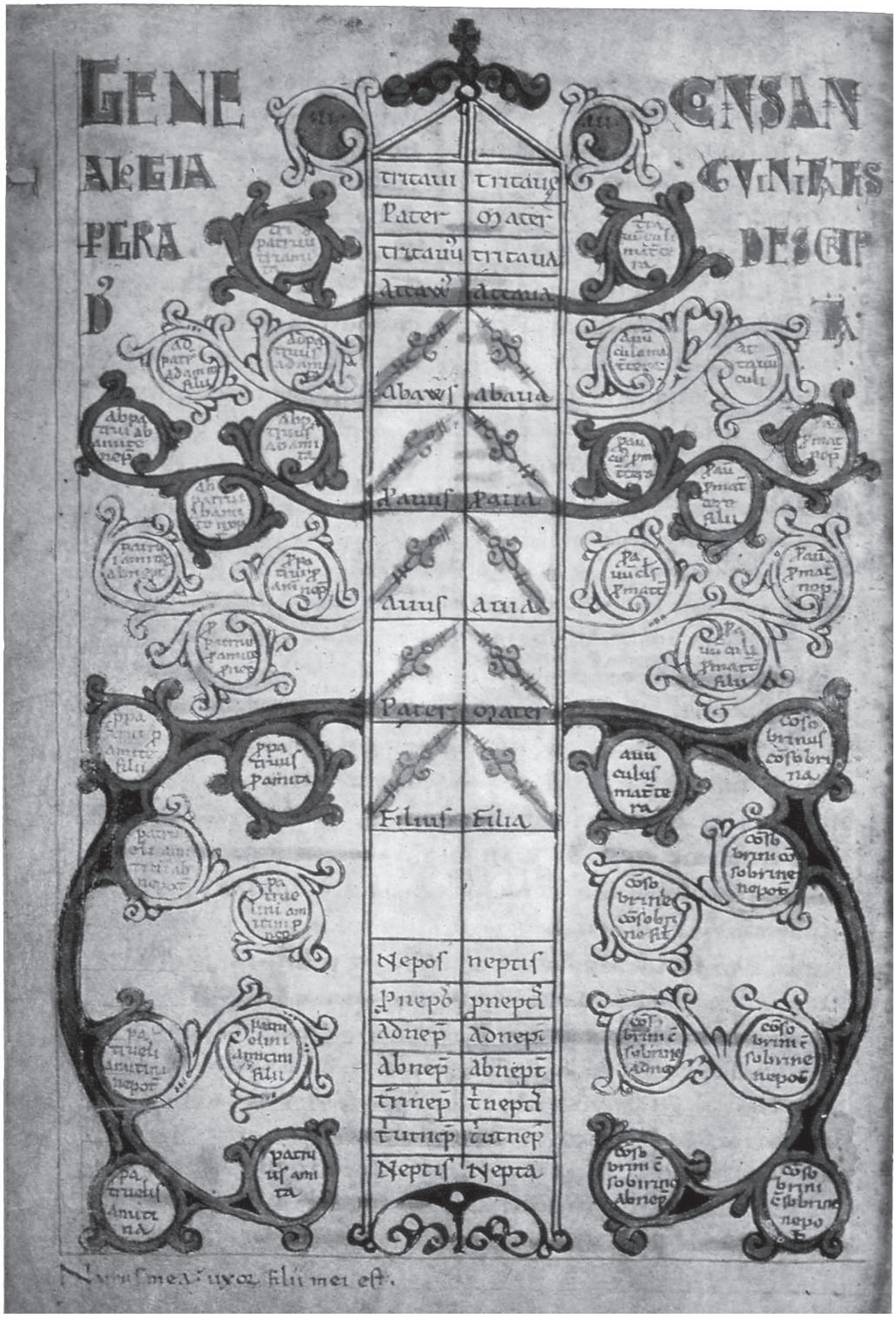
GENEALOGIA PER GRADUS
CONSANGUINITATIS DESCRIPTA
Tritauus Tritauia
Pater Mater
Tritauus Tritauia
Attauus Attauia
Abauus Abauia
Proauus Proauia
Auus Auia
Pater Mater
Filius Filia
Nepos Neptis
Pronepos Proneptis
Adnepos Adneptis
Abnepos Abneptis
Trinepos Trineptis
Tutnepos Tutnepos
Neptis Nepta
Nurus mea: uxor filii mei est.

Figure 6.10. '*Arbor consanguinitatis*', Lambert of Saint Omer, *Liber floridus*, Ghent, Rijksuniversiteit, MS 92, fol. 102v. *c*. 1120. Reproduced with permission of the Rijksuniversiteit, Ghent.

the stemmata are placed within the section dealing with matrimonial law, the *causae* XXXIII to XXXVI.[48] The tree-shaped *arbor consanguinitatis* also appears in a legal context in the *Liber floridus*, where it accompanies chapter 105, *Quot modis peccata dimittuntur* (On ways for the remission of sins) (Figure 6.10). The circle in the centre of the Tree of Consanguinity, which is either empty or inscribed *ego* (me), is the starting point of the diagrammatic representation of blood relationships in the Kremsmünster-codex. From this central point, the ancestors, *pater/mater* (father/mother), *avus/avia* (grandfather/grandmother), are mentioned in ascending order and the descendants, *filius/filia* (son/daughter), *nepos/neptis* (grandson/granddaughter), appear in descending order. The terms are each inscribed in medallions connected by lines, similar to the ones in the genealogy of Christ. This method of representation also matched the conventional layout of canonical manuscripts, although there is no human presentation figure.[49] An inscription in the frame reflects the meaning of the stemma and urges the reader to consider the image first and then consult the text: 'Hoc modo legas arborem primo constituas eam secundo legas.' On the facing page (fol. 62^{r}), a diagram represents the different degrees of affinity that were regarded unsuitable for marriage. This is first shown in connection with the *arbor consanguinitatis* in the *Decretum Gratiani*, where it is placed within the section dealing with matrimonial law. Usually, an amorous couple is used to represent the subject of the Tree of Affinity, while the text addresses problematic, sinful, and therefore punishable cases of marriage.[50] From the second half of the thirteenth century these trees were also incorporated in various manuscripts of the *Decretales* of Pope Gregory IX (completed in 1234). The *Decretales* were widely disseminated as a common textbook of canon law.[51] In this context they often appear in Book IV on marriage or were added at the beginning or the end of the manuscript.[52] In the Kremsmünster manuscript, however, a simple diagrammatic representation is chosen for the *arbores*. Thus, the double page with the *arbores* points to its origin from an encyclopaedic context. On the other hand the schematic style reinforces its relationship with the diagrammatic representation of the genealogy of Christ in the *Compendium historiae*.

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[48] On the *arbores* in the seventh book of the *Decretum Burchardi*, see Schadt, *Die Darstellungen der Arbores consanguinitatis und der Arbores affinitatis*, pp. 109–23, on their inclusion in further canonical collections pp. 124–30.

[49] L'Engle and Gibbs, *Illuminating the Law*: The Sussex-Decretum (Cambridge, Sidney Sussex College, MS 101) inserts the *arbores* at fols 209^{v}–210^{r} into causa XXXV (L'Engle and Gibbs, *Illuminating the Law*, no. 1, p. 106, pl. 1c); the *arbor consanguinitatis* is placed in front of the figure of a king, who holds a scepter and an apple; the *arbor affinitatis* on the opposite page shows an arcade crowned by towers and beneath, two lovers. A manuscript of the *Decretum* in Cambridge (Corpus Christi College, MS 10) shows the *arbor consanguinitatis* between *causa* XXXV and XXXVI (fol. 330^{v}); the standing male figure is executed; the medallions, however, remain empty (L'Engle and Gibbs, *Illuminating the Law*, no. 3, p. 120, pl. 3h). On the canonical stemma, see Schadt, *Die Darstellungen der Arbores consanguinitatis und der Arbores affinitatis*, p. 144, figs 60–62.

[50] On its role in the *Decretum Gratiani*, see Schadt, *Die Darstellungen der Arbores consanguinitatis und der Arbores affinitatis*, pp. 141–75, on the *arbor affinitatis*, which addresses the forbidden stages of pregnancy and is included in the *Decretum Gratiani* for the first time, pp. 175–94. Examples: collection of canons, Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 12603, fol. 116^{r} (Klemm, *Die romanischen Handschriften*, III. 1: *Die Bistümer Regensburg, Passau und Salzburg*, no. 208; *Decretum Gratiani*, Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 13031, fol. 102^{v} (Klemm, *Die romanischen Handschriften*, III. 1: *Die Bistümer Regensburg, Passau und Salzburg*, no. 89), as well as Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 13004, Salzburg around 1170–80, fols 308^{v}–309^{r} (Klemm, *Die romanischen Handschriften*, III. 1: *Die Bistümer Regensburg, Passau und Salzburg*, no. 103) and Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 17161, fol. 165^{r} (Jakobi-Mirwald, 'Die Schäftlarner Gratianhandschrift Clm 17161').

[51] Schadt, *Die Darstellungen der Arbores consanguinitatis und der Arbores affinitatis*, pp. 200–01, on the *arbores affinitatis* pp. 180–85, figs 76–82, 92, 107–18. On *arbores* in decretal manuscripts, see Wittekind, '"Ut hac tantum compilatione universi"'. Elaborately illuminated *arbores* can also be found in the decretal manuscripts in Bourges, Bib. Municipale, MS 189, fols A^{v}–B^{r}; Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 8702, fol. 348^{v}–350^{r} (see Hernad, *Die gotischen Handschriften*, I: *Vom späten 13. bis zur Mitte des 14. Jahrhunderts*, no. 211); in Reims, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 679, fols 1^{v}–2^{r}; Rome, BAV, MS Vat. Pal. 629, fols 260^{v}–261^{r} (see Burkhart, 'Die Dekretalenhandschrift Vat. Pal. lat. 629'); in Vendôme, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 81, fols 308^{v}–309^{r} *Enluminures*; and in Cologne, Historisches Arch., W 275, fols 331^{v}–332^{r}. In Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, MS 1295, fols 133^{v}–134^{r} the *arbores* are to be found in the fourth book on matrimonial law.

[52] Cf. the *Decretales* in Barcelona, Arch. Capitular, C. 93, fols 286^{v}–287^{r}, Coll i Rosell, 'El arte de los codices', pp. 661–62. The *Decretales* of Gregory IX were part of the curriculum at universities; cf. Brundage, *Medieval Canon Law*, p. 194, 200; Brundage, 'From Classroom to Courtroom', especially pp. 342–44. Barcelona, Arch. Capitular, C. 93, fols 286^{v}–287^{r} (the end of the text); *Decretales*, Vic, Arxiu capitolar, MS 144, fols B^{v}–C^{v} (later added before the beginning of the decretals); Barcelona, Arch. de la corona de Aragón, MS Ripoll 7 (inserted on fols 215^{v}–216^{r} between Gregory's and Innocent's decretals).

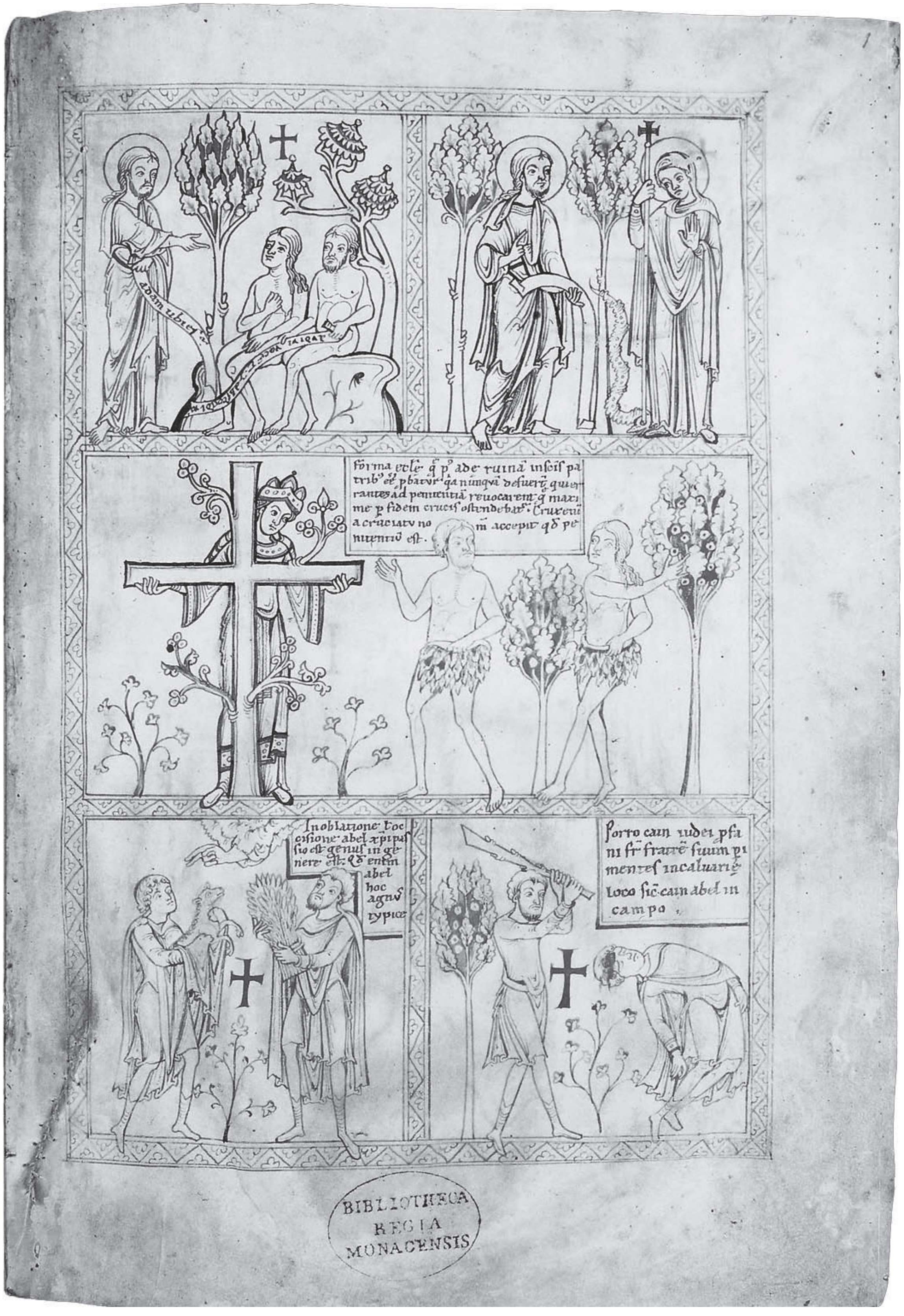
Adam ubi es
Forma eccle q p ade ruina in scis pa
trib est pbatur qa nunqua defuerunt qui er
rantes ad penitentia reuocarent q maxi
me p fidem crucis ostendebatur. Crux eni
a cruciatu no m accepit q d pe
nitentiu est.
In oblatione t oc
cisione abel xpi pas
sio est genus in ge
nere est. Q d enim
abel
hoc
agnus
typice
Porro cain iudei pfa
ni fr fratre suum pi
mentes in caluarie
loco sic cain abel in
campo
BIBLIOTHECA
REGIA
MONACENSIS

Figure 6.11. 'Types of the *sacrificium Christi* from Genesis', *Dialogus des laudibus sanctae crucis*, Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 14159, fol. 1ʳ, *c*. 1165. Reproduced with permission of the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek.

The Motif of arbor *and* virga *as a Referential System in the Pictorial Programme of the* Speculum humanae salvationis

The set of scenes from the New Testament and their Old Testament types is based on the corresponding text of the *Speculum humanae salvationis* and is therefore similar in all illuminated *Speculum humanae salvationis* manuscripts.

Trees or branches play an important role in both text and images as meaningful, symbolic signs. The Tree of Jesse, which is a precursor for the previously discussed illustrated episode of the Birth of the Virgin, appears in conjunction with the representation of the dream visions of King Astyages, in reference to the future Annunciation of the birth of Mary (fol. 9^{v}). The episode of God in the burning bush (Exodus 3) can be interpreted as a symbol for the Immaculate Conception and refers to the Annunciation of Christ's birth to Mary (fol. 12^{v}). The tree vision of Nebuchadnezzar (Daniel 4) heralds Christ's death on the cross (fol. 29^{v}). The Flagellation of Christ corresponds to the representation of Achior tied to the tree (Judith 6) (fol. 25^{v}). The lance thrust into the side wound of Christ on the cross is symbolically preceded by the illustration of Joab's lance thrust into the corpse of Absalom, who hangs from the tree (ii Samuel 18. 8–15) (fols 30^{v}–31^{r}). Another example is the illustration of the budding rod of Aaron (Numbers 17), as it appears next to the precursory reference to the Virgin birth of Christ (fols 13^{v}–14^{r}), and at the same time it crowns the Ark of the Covenant (Exodus 25. 10–40), which in turn functions as an allegory for Mary, in addition to serving as a precursory scene for the Presentation in the Temple (fol. 16^{v}). In the Kremsmünster-codex, the sprouting branches of Aaron's rod arch over the Ark of the Covenant (fol. 15^{v}), take the place of the divine Child standing on the altar in the opposite scene of the Presentation at the Temple. Therefore both the self-sacrifice of Christ on the cross and the subject of the Tree of Life are anticipated and prefigured, but also interpreted as the fulfilment of the Old Testament.

The subject of the tree is applied more prominently in the Kremsmünster-codex, when compared with the images of the *Speculum humanae salvationis* in Darmstadt (Darmstadt, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, Hs. 2505, Germany, *c.* 1360). In this manuscript, trees are not used as a framing or filling motif; instead they separate scenes or indicate a landscape background.[53] The *arbor* or *virga* is inserted in each of the opening scenes as an indication of Paradise (fols 6^{v}–7^{v}); consequently it is missing from Adam and Eve's life outside Paradise (fol. 8^{r}) and other external scenes. Aaron's rod is characterized by rich foliage and flowers (fols 14^{r}, 15^{v}); its branches and leaves recall those of the Tree of Virtues as well as the Tree of Jesse. In addition to this, the abundant foliage of the Persian gardens (fols 10^{v}–11^{r}), which prefigure the *Hortus conclusus*, the coming of Mary and Christ, and finally Mary of Egypt (fol. 16^{v}), is given special attention. The recurrent motif of the tree in different chapters and contexts of the manuscript recalls preceding scenes, but it also reminds the reader of the diagrammatic and didactic *arbores* which frame the *Speculum humanae salvationis*. Thus, the chronological order of text and images, which functions as a continuous narrative accompanied by typological scenes, is enriched by a second layer of meaning, an associative order which is created by the images themselves. This superstructure allows for a quasi-typological linking of scenes by the reader. The trees in the miniatures and the diagrammatic trees framing the *Speculum humanae salvationis* play a key role in the creation of this system of references. The prophetic image of Christ as the offspring of Jesse, born of the Virgin (*virgo*) Mary, which is stressed repeatedly in the text as well as in the miniatures of the *Speculum humanae salvationis*, is thus combined with an exegesis of history itself in a genealogical perspective. This interpretation is then integrated with an allegorical reflection, leading to contemplation of the ways towards salvation as indicated by the Trees of Virtues and Vices. Trees and branches unite different moral, Mariological, genealogical, historical, and legal perspectives. As the wood of the cross and the blossom (*flos*) of a chosen *virga* and *stirps*, the Tree of Life and Tree of Knowledge also represent the promise of Salvation.

Conclusion

The texts and images framing the *Speculum humanae salvationis* in the Kremsmünster-codex provide the reader with various ways of reading and understanding the imagery of the manuscript. With regard to the subject of the tree, they set a diversely interpretable model, which breaks the continuous stream of typological narrative and supplements it with a historic as well as moral reading. While on the one hand the *Speculum humanae salvationis* text didactically addresses the recipient as a passive listener with its recurring appeal *audiamus* (let us hear), on the other hand it promotes active contemplation, concluding the meditations of the Passion with a short prayer, in which the praying beholder himself becomes the narrator for whom Christ suffered.[54]

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[53] While Christ's baptism in the river Jordan is normally set in a tree-lined landscape (Darmstadt, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, Hs. 2505, p. 24), trees are relinquished here (Kremsmünster, Library of the Convent, Cod. 243, fol. 17^{v}). In Kremsmünster in contrast to Paradise with its fruit-bearing trees, the Life of Adam and Eve outside Paradise (fols 7^{v}–8^{r}) is consequently represented in an austere setting, while in the manuscript of Darmstadt these scenes are situated in a lush green landscape. Also, in Kremsmünster, Jonas is shown after his release in a landscape barren of trees (fol. 38^{r}), quite unlike the tree-lined landscape of the Darmstadt manuscript (p. 61).

The Passion of Christ and the Mariological scenes in the manuscript are especially significant because the text describing them is illustrated. Salvation history is repeated three times within the manuscript, each time in a different way and with different implications. This strategy of a referential system, which repeats the same motif within different contexts, is also apparent in the opening and ending *arbores* pages of the manuscript. Motifs (*virga*) and keywords (Adam) are used to create new connecting references to other concepts within the text and to images within the *Speculum humanae salvationis*. It is clearly no coincidence that tree diagrams are chosen to frame the text-image-corpus of the *Speculum humanae salvationis* in the Kremsmünster-codex. Their use gives particular pictorial prominence to key metaphors in the text, such as the image of Mary as *virga* and the cross as the Tree of Life. The full-page tree diagrams promote active meditation on certain intellectual concepts, which are consistently referred to throughout the manuscript.[55] References to common elements lead to reflection on the meaning and possible interpretations of these subjects. The contemplation of signs, which the prologue of the *Speculum humanae salvationis* demands, is then substantiated visually and finally reapplied to the images. This repetitive use of a motif in different contexts, whether they are scenic or narrative, schematic or allegoric, is reminiscent of reference processes developed and used in theological and law schools of the High Middle Ages. An excellent example of this referencing method is Peter Lombard's *Commentary on the Psalms*, in which the author refers to the authorities upon whom he bases his explanations in the margins of the manuscript.[56] Early examples of the use of similar visual signs in subsequent illuminations can be found in the *Dialogus de laudibus sanctae crucis* from the monastery of St Emmeran near Regensburg (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 14159, *c*. 1165). In this manuscript a red cross appears as a leitmotif throughout the codex, as a premonitory reference to both the Crucifixion of Christ and the battle of the Virtues against the Vices in the struggle of the soul against the flesh (Figure 6.11).[57] Wolfgang Hartl, who dedicated a monograph to this manuscript, has pointed to a visual referencing system used throughout the miniatures which is closely related to the one in the Kremsmünster *Speculum humanae salvationis*. The tree appears as an essential motif in the frontispiece illustrating the origins of the Christian Church in the St Emmeran manuscript (fol. 8^{v}). Here, the cross is shown as the Tree of Life which pierces the serpent. Portraits of prophets and saints are attached to the arms of the cross, and Mary is depicted in the central crossing. This first arboreal image is linked to the final miniatures in the manuscript, which show the genealogical scheme of the offspring of Noah and the seventy-two languages (fols 187^{v}–188^{r}).

By the end of the thirteenth century, reference symbols are also used for illuminated vernacular texts such as the *Sachsenspiegel* and in poetry like the *Willehalm*.[58] In the Kremsmünster manuscript the integration of symbolic motifs into the image narrative is particularly subtle, and yet it results in an associatively connective effect.[59] Although the prologue in the *Speculum humanae*

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[54] These three prayers, each comprising 203 rhymed verses (chaps 43–45 of the *Speculum humanae salvationis*), are missing in the manuscripts belonging to the textual tradition of the *Speculum* represented by Darmstadt, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, Hs. 2505; cf. Stork and Wachinger, 'Speculum humanae salvationis', cols 55, 57.

[55] Cf. the considerations of Beyer, *Rahmenbedingungen*.

[56] Wittekind, *Kommentar mit Bildern*, pp. 31–32.

[57] Hartl, *Text und Miniaturen der Handschrift Dialogus*, pp. 50–81; cf. the description of the manuscript, which contains 188 folios of 31 × 21.5cm, pp. 14–17: the pictorial cycle (fols 1^{r}–5^{v}) is followed by the treatise *Homo constat* which is partly based on the *Speculum virginum*; then a dedicatory letter (fols 7^{r}–8^{r}), the frontispiece (fol. 8^{v}), the text of the *Dialogus de laudibus sanctae crucis* (fols 9^{r}–186^{v}), and two genealogical schemata (fols 187^{v}–88^{r}); see Hartl, *Text und Miniaturen der Handschrift Dialogus*, pp. 231–36, 268–83, 468–76, and tables 12, 16–17.

[58] On the images as a system of signs, see Manuwald, *Medialer Dialog*, especially pp. 217–23, pp. 234–35, pp. 320–23, on the image manuscripts of the Sachsenspiegel pp. 412–72; on the procedure of image motivic references, cf. Wittekind, 'Überlegungen zur Konstruktion von Heiligkeit in Bildviten'.

[59] The motif of *virga* is also symbolically woven into the altar cloth of the former abbey of Benedictine nuns Drübeck near Wernigerode/Saxony (first half of the fourteenth century). The altar cloth, composed of twenty-one rectangular image fields, shows the Crucifixion on the centre surrounded by Christological and

salvationis is reminiscent of Gregory the Great's famous dictum on the use of images for the illiterate,[60] the referential system of texts and images across the book is derived from the monastic context, as are the Trees of Virtues and Vices and other didactic devices. The images are richly reflective of the intellectual culture of the convent for which the book was made, in all likelihood the Premonstratensians at the Abbey of Weissenau.[61] The addition of a vernacular abridged version of the *Speculum humanae salvationis* is not unusual at a time when law texts like the *Sachsenspiegel* were published in the language of the people.[62]

The association of the tree motif with sin and redemption (Trees of Virtues and Vices) at the beginning of the manuscript means that this symbolic significance pervades the entire narrative-typological sequence of pictures. The repetition of the image of the tree also suggests a connection between the abstract-allegorical concept of the virtues and vices and the historical-typological image narrative. Both strands of discourse can be linked to the *Genealogia Christi* illustration at the end of the manuscript, and it is this discourse which renders the *Genealogia Christi* vivid and concrete. Moreover, the Old Testament premonitory scenes mentioned in the *Speculum humanae salvationis* can be understood chronologically and historically with the aid of the *Genealogia Christi*. Finally, the reader identifies with the *ego* medallion at the centre of the Tree of Consanguinity and sees it in relation to his own ancestors and descendants. These personal ties of consanguinity are analogous to the family relationships in the *Genealogia Christi*, and it is through this association that the reader finds himself fully integrated into the divine plan of salvation.

Mariological scenes, complemented by typological scenes and visualized prophecies at the sides. Here within the representation of Mary a vine is inserted with the depiction of the *porta clausa* (Ezechiel 44. 2), and tendrils of foliage also emerge from the figure of Christ in judgement. Kroos, *Niedersächsische Bildstickereien des Mittelalters*, p. 84, catalogue No. 13, fig. 291; Begrich and Finger, 'Die Altardecke im Kloster Drübeck', p. 171 and illustration on p. 159.

[60] Cf. *Speculum humanae salvationis*, ed. by Neumüller, p. 8: 'Hanc conditionem possunt litterati habere ex scripturis, rudes autem erudiri debent in libris, id est in picturis'; Lutz and Perdrizet, *Speculum humanae salvationis*, p. 2.

[61] *Speculum humanae salvationis*, ed. by Neumüller, p. 10.

[62] See Manuwald, 'Narrative Bilder in Rechtshandschriften'; Manuwald, 'Pictorial Narrative in Legal Manuscripts?'.

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TWO TREES IN PARADISE? A CASE STUDY ON THE ICONOGRAPHY OF THE TREE OF KNOWLEDGE AND THE TREE OF LIFE IN ITALIAN ROMANESQUE SCULPTURE

Ute Dercks

When the Tree of Knowledge is referred to in the Book of Genesis, it is located in the Garden of Eden, and God had forbidden Adam and Eve to eat its fruit:

> And the Lord God had planted a paradise of pleasure from the beginning: wherein he placed man whom he had formed. And the Lord God brought forth of the ground all manner of trees, fair to behold, and pleasant to eat of: the Tree of Life also in the midst of paradise, and the Tree of Knowledge of good and evil. (Genesis 2. 8–9)

This phrase from the so-called second account of Creation raises several problems of interpretation concerning the number, function, and location of the tree (or trees) mentioned in the text: How many trees were there in the middle of the Garden of Eden? Were the Tree of Life and the Tree of Knowledge identical, or were there two distinct trees at the centre of the garden?

In his *Ikonologie der Genesis*, which provides an exemplary analysis of the sources and scholarship on the topic until 1989, Hans-Martin von Erffa introduced his work by stating that since the nineteenth century biblical research had interpreted the Trees of Paradise as one and the same object.[1] Indeed in 1883, Karl Budde assumed that the two trees located in the Garden of Eden mentioned in biblical sources were actually identical: 'Ein einziger Baum steht mitten im Garten, wie das der Natur der Ortsangabe am besten entspricht' (There is one single tree planted in the midst of Paradise according to the terminology referring to its location).[2] However, while modern biblical scholarship has interpreted the two trees as one, medieval exegesis is more equivocal in this respect. The present article is a short inquiry into the history of this problem from an art historical perspective. It is designed primarily as an iconographic case study of the Tree of Knowledge and the Tree of Life in Italian Romanesque sculpture, as the increasing interest in naturalistic representation during this period makes the artistic treatment of trees and their representation as recognizable botanical species particularly interesting.

The Number of Trees in Paradise: The Textual Tradition

Since the early Christian period, exegesis has always counted two trees at the centre of the Garden of Eden. The tradition is reinforced by a large number of typological antitheses such as the 'antithetical relationship of the Tree of Life and the Tree of the Knowledge of Good and Evil', which led to antagonism between the Tree of Life and the Tree of Death, and the subsequent multiple layers of allegorical meaning in Christian artistic expression.[3] Furthermore, the Garden of Eden is full of double meanings as has been shown by Dmitri Slivniak, and the tree at its centre is a case in point.[4]

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[1] Von Erffa, *Ikonologie der Genesis*, I, 105. For the representation of trees in Paradise in art, see Goetz, *Der Feigenbaum*.

[2] Budde, *Die biblische Urgeschichte*, p. 59.

[3] O'Reilly, 'The Trees of Eden in Medieval Iconography', p. 180.

[4] Slivniak, 'The Garden of Double Messages'. See also Gillingham, *The Image, the Depths and the Surface*, chap. 2: 'In and Out of the Garden: Multivalent Readings in Genesis 2–3'.

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In addition to the problem of the number of trees, the location of the Tree of Knowledge becomes especially problematic when Eve in her conversation with the serpent says that God had forbidden her to eat from the tree that stood in the middle of Paradise:

> Of the fruit of the trees that are in paradise we do eat: But of the fruit of the tree which is in the midst of paradise, God hath commanded us that we should not eat; and that we should not touch it, lest perhaps we die. (Genesis 3. 2–3)

This passage demonstrates that eating from the forbidden tree, which was located in the middle of the garden, would mean death for Adam and Eve. The passage also refers to the Tree of Knowledge; however, this association only becomes clear with the response of the serpent: 'No, you shall not die the death. For God doth know that in what day so ever you shall eat thereof, your eyes shall be opened: and you shall be as Gods, knowing good and evil' (Genesis 3. 4–5). The interpretation that there is only one tree in the middle of Paradise gives that tree a multiple function. It seems to undergo a kind of metamorphosis, in which it passes from *arbor vitae* to *arbor cognitionis*, and finally to *arbor mortis*. After the Fall of Man, Adam and Eve were expelled from Paradise and the Cherubim were instructed to guard its entrance in order to block humanity's access to the Tree of Life. 'Behold Adam is become as one of us, knowing good and evil: now, therefore, lest perhaps he put forth his hand, and take also of the Tree of Life, and eat, and live forever' (Genesis 3. 22). In this way the Tree of Knowledge manifests itself as the Tree of Death, in clear opposition to the Tree of Life, which is kept beyond the reach of mortals by its heavenly protectors.[5]

The concept of a holy tree, whose fruit gave perpetual life or well-being when eaten, was widespread in the Middle East, and its botanical species depended on the characteristic vegetation of the region.[6] The Tree of Life is only explicitly mentioned in a single passage of the Bible, namely in Apocalypse, where the Heavenly Jerusalem is described; its representations were a regular occurrence in Early Christian art.[7] The *Lignum vitae* is closely tied to the eschatological concept of Paradise, and for Christian exegetes it was symbolic of Paradise lost.[8] Jewish interpretation saw the Tree of Life at the centre of the world and therefore as a symbol of Jerusalem itself.[9] In the apocryphal *Vita Adae et Evae*, which dates from the third to the fourth centuries, the Tree of Life becomes the Tree of Mercy. In this text as Adam lies dying he sends his son Seth to bring him oil from the Tree of Paradise. The Angel denies him the oil, alluding to its future role in human salvation.[10] In other versions of the story Seth receives seeds from the tree, or Adam takes a branch of it with him during his expulsion, which then grows into a large tree on his grave.[11] Later, Solomon has the tree cut down to construct the temple, but then casts it into the sea when the Queen of Sheba discovers the role of the tree in the death of the future Messiah and the subsequent dispersion of the people of Israel.[12] The tree rises again at the time of Christ, when the cross was made from its trunk and was mounted directly over the grave of Adam. Trees also figure prominently in Ezekiel's paradisiac prophecy:

> And by the torrent on the banks thereof on both sides shall grow all trees that bear fruit: their leaf shall not fall off, and their fruit shall not fail: every month shall they bring forth firstfruits, because the waters thereof shall issue out of the sanctuary: and the fruits thereof shall be for food, and the leaves thereof for medicine. (Ezekiel 47. 12)

The Tree of Life is mentioned in the passage of the Apocalypse inspired by this prophecy, where a new heaven, a new earth, and a new Jerusalem are described as being without suffering or death:

> And he shewed me a river of water of life, clear as crystal, proceeding from the throne of God and of the Lamb. In the midst of the street thereof, and on both sides of the river, was the tree of life, bearing twelve fruits, yielding its fruits every month: the leaves of the tree for the healing of the nations. (Apocalypse 22. 1–2)

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[5] Goetz, *Der Feigenbaum*, pp. 20–21.

[6] Von Erffa, *Ikonologie der Genesis*, p. 107.

[7] Schmidt, *Warum ein Apfel, Eva?*, p. 19.

[8] Von Erffa, *Ikonologie der Genesis*, p. 107.

[9] Von Erffa, *Ikonologie der Genesis*, pp. 108–09, and Ameisenowa, 'Tree of Life in Jewish Iconography', p. 333.

[10] Von Erffa, *Ikonologie der Genesis*, p. 108. See also 'Vita Adae et Evae' in *Aprocrypha and Pseudepigrapha*, ed. by Charles, chap. 31. 2: 'Perchance He will have pity upon you and send His angel across to the tree of His mercy, whence floweth the oil of life, and will give you a drop of it, to anoint me with it, that I may have rest from these pains, by which I am being consumed.' See also Murdoch, *The Apocryphal Adam and Eve*, pp. 243–44.

[11] For more detailed analysis of the Tree of Life and the Legend of the Holy Cross, see von Erffa, *Ikonologie der Genesis*, pp. 106–19 (p. 116). For the legend of the Holy Cross and its influence on Christian iconography, see the article in this volume by Barbara Baert and Liesbet Kusters, 'The Tree as Narrative, Formal, and Allegorical Index in Representations of the *Noli me tangere*'.

[12] Schmidt, *Warum ein Apfel, Eva?*, pp. 25–26.

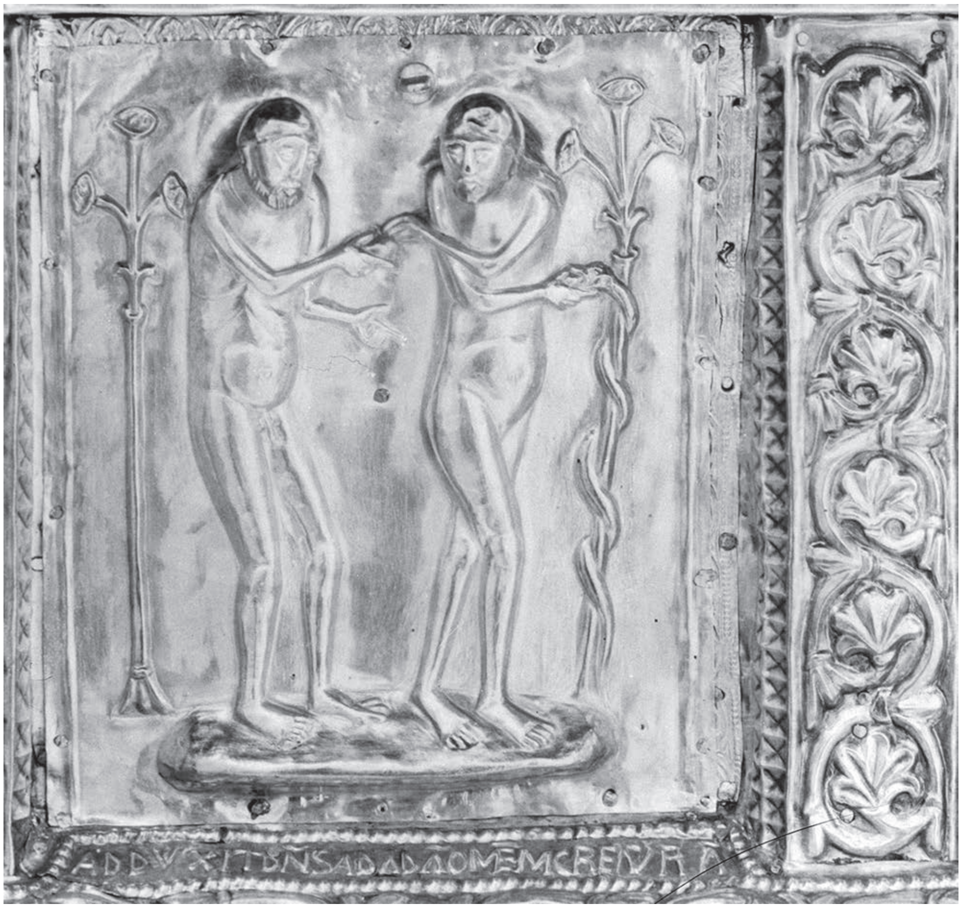

Figure 7.1.
'San Isidore Reliquary', León, Museo de la Basílica de San Isidoro de Leòn, *c.* 1063. Photo courtesy of the Fundació Instituto Amatller de Arte Hispánico. Archivo Mas.

In this case the text refers to numerous trees instead of a single example, and furthermore, it describes a tree which bears fruit.

Species of Trees in Paradise: The Iconographic Tradition

The Tree of Knowledge is obviously a fruit-bearing tree, although there is no clear indication in the Bible identifying the variety of fruit eaten by Adam and Eve. Although an enquiry into the species of tree may seem unimportant and remains unresolved by theological discourse in general, its identification is nevertheless a fascinating issue when it comes to representations of the Tree of Knowledge in art.[13] In a written context, the generic terms 'tree' and 'fruit' pose no problem. In the visual arts, however, this dilemma must be addressed and resolved. The artist or designer ultimately had to make a decision about what particular tree to depict in any given context, even if the tree was to appear abstract or non-specific.

It is often impossible to verify whether the Trees of Paradise were date palms, vines, lemons, apples, or fig trees. On the back of the Byzantine ivory known as the Harbaville-Triptych, which dates to the tenth century, the Trees of Paradise are depicted as a variety of cypress with grape vines climbing over them.[14] This may be an allusion to the fact that the True Cross was made from the wood of the tree planted by Seth, which came from three different trees: the cypress, the cedar, and the pine tree, growing together as one.[15] Naturally, representations of both the tree and the fruit cannot be evaluated according to current botanical classifications. In most cases, one encounters very abstract tree forms, such as those on the San Isidore reliquary in León (Figure 7.1)[16] or on the capital of the cloister in Torri di Sovicille (Figure 7.2).[17]

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[13] Flemming, 'Baum, Bäume', col. 264, and Fruhstorfer, 'Baum der Erkenntnis'.

[14] Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. no. OA 3247; see Gaborit-Chopin, *Ivoires médiévaux V^e–XV^e siécle*, cat. no. 16, pp. 86–93.

[15] See Kirchner, *Die Darstellung des ersten Menschenpaares*, p. 18.

[16] The shrine in the treasury of San Isidore at León dates to *c.* 1063; see Bredekamp and Seehausen, 'Das Reliquiar als Staatsform'.

[17] See Cornice, 'Una sosta nel chiostro di Torri'.

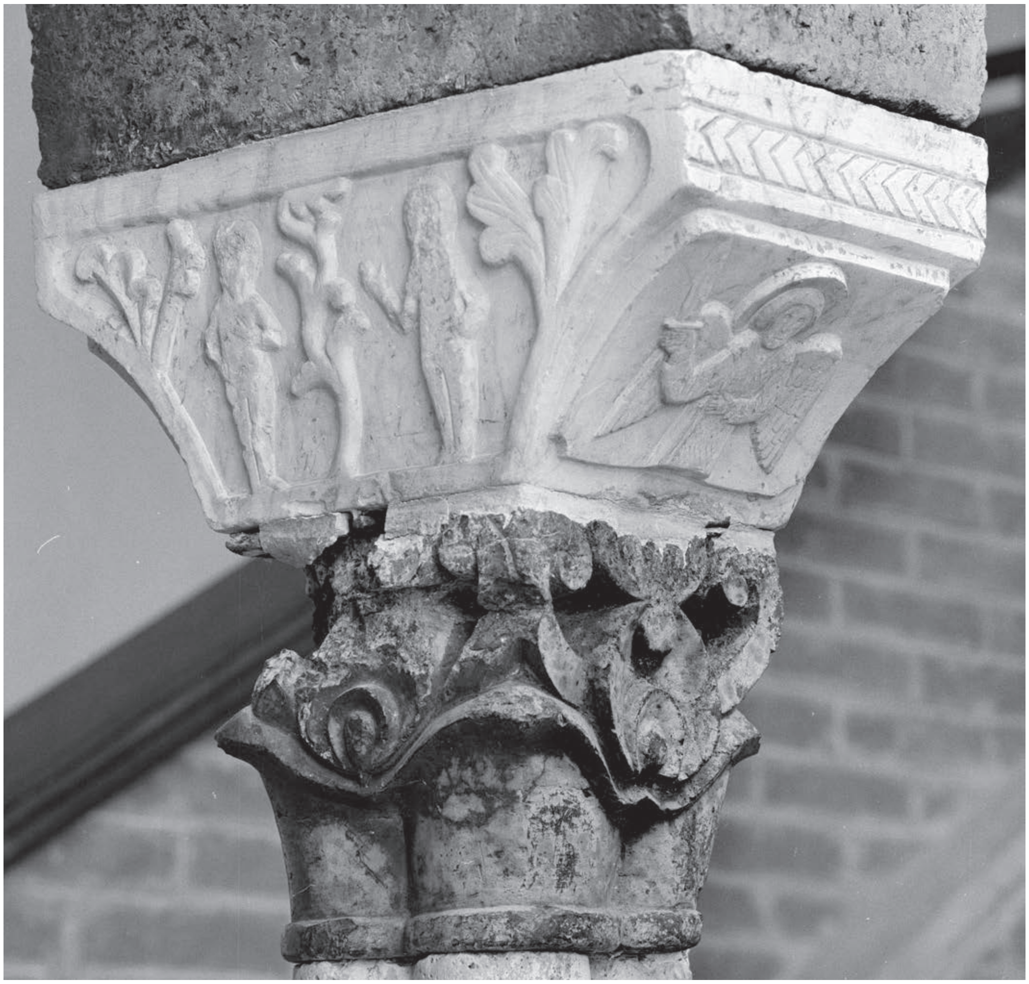

Figure 7.2.
'Fall of Man, capital', Torri di Sovicille, Santissima Trinità e Santa Mustiola, cloister. Second half of the twelfth century. Photo Roberto Sigismondi, courtesy of the Kunsthistorisches Institut in Florenz (Max-Planck-Institut).

The choice of a fig tree makes perfect sense simply because only one kind of tree is ever specified in the biblical description of the Garden of Eden: 'And the eyes of them both were opened: and when they perceived themselves to be naked, they sewed together fig leaves, and made themselves aprons' (Genesis 3. 7).[18] According to Eve's story in the *Apocalypsis Mosis*, after the Fall of Man all the trees in Paradise lost their foliage, except the fig tree — and it was precisely this tree from which she and Adam had eaten. In the *Testament of Adam*, dating to between the second and fifth centuries, Adam admits to his son Seth that he had eaten from the fig tree.[19] Therefore, the typical fruit tree in the Bible is the fig tree, not the apple tree as was concluded by Alexander Demandt in his monograph on trees.[20] However, by the fifth century, a transformation from the fig tree to that of the apple tree had already taken place. Demandt states that around 425 Cyprianus Gallus, in his epic writings on creation, called the forbidden fruit *malum noxale*.[21] The position of the word within the context of hexameter verse composition attests to the fact that Cyprianus was referring to an apple, or *malum*, with the stress on the first syllable, and not to *malum*, or evil. As has already been noted by Josef Kirchner: 'The apple tree probably came by its role as a seducer by way of a Latin pun: *malum* (pronounced with a long a) = apple; *malum* (with a short a) = evil, bad'.[22] Presumably, this transition was based on plant geography. The apple tree was not well known in Palestine, whereas in Gaul it was much better known than the fig tree. At this point one could begin an excursus on the theme of the apple as a gift in ancient literature — for example, the golden apple of Hesperides, or the common attempt to use the apple to bind biblical and antique pagan traditions together. However, returning to the argument at hand, the transformation of the fig tree into an apple had occurred by the time of Osborn of Gloucester around 1150, when the significance of the word *malum* (apple) once again became distinct from that of the word *malum* (evil).[23]

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[18] For a detailed description of the fig tree in the Garden of Eden, see Goetz, *Der Feigenbaum*, p. 19 and passim.

[19] Von Erffa, *Ikonologie der Genesis*, p. 120; Edwards Robinson, *The Testament of Adam*.

[20] Demandt, *Über allen Wipfeln*, pp. 20–22. See also Kirchner, *Die Darstellung des ersten Menschenpaares*, pp. 16–18.

[21] The Latin term *noxialis* is best translated as 'injurious, noxious' in English. See also Demandt, *Über allen Wipfeln*, p. 22 about Bishop Avitus from Vienne in Gaul, who in around 500 AD wrote a poem about the Fall of Man, in which Eve picks an apple from the lethal tree ('unum de cunctis lethali ex arbore malum detrahit') and gives her husband the noxious fruit ('exitiale pomum').

[22] 'Der Apfelbaum kam wahrscheinlich durch ein lateinisches

A Case Study: The Tree of Knowledge and the Tree of Life in Romanesque Sculpture

Having assessed the early iconographic and textual tradition of the tree in the Garden of Eden, the following case study discusses representations of the Tree of Knowledge and the Tree of Life in episodes of the Fall of Man in Romanesque sculpture. The restriction of the article to this period and genre is determined by the fact that at this time an innovative and complex transformation of architectural sculpture took place. On one hand, as noted by Willibald Sauerländer,

> Romanesque sculpture has its origin in a period of technical and economic progress, and is itself an integrated part of it. It demanded a new organization of labour, an effective co-operation between the 'programmer', the architectural designer, the mason and the sculptor. […] Capitals and portals, even whole façades, become messages in stone.[24]

Obviously the reliefs on portals, capitals, and friezes addressed a wider and more public target audience than, for example, the painted representations in illuminated manuscripts. On the other hand, the twelfth and thirteenth centuries brought forth a new kind of naturalism, to which Wilhelm Vöge dedicated his work entitled 'The Pioneers of the Study of Nature' in 1914.[25] The representation of the calendar and monthly labours in this period, for instance, provides an exemplary demonstration of the extent to which the study and representation of nature regained its cultural value. Taking this into consideration, the following analysis focuses on the representational typologies of medieval sculpture. It will examine how the Tree of Knowledge is depicted in representations of the Fall of Man and consider whether the representation and differentiation of the Trees of Paradise reflect an increased understanding of nature.[26]

In early Christian art, the Tree of Life can commonly be found on sarcophagi, tomb crosses, portals, or rood screens. In some cases its iconography was linked to the triumph over death and in others to the idea of entrance into the sanctuary, following Apocalypse 22. 14: 'Blessed are those who wash their robes, that they may have the right to the Tree of Life and may go through the gates into the city.'[27] Whereas the niches on early Christian sarcophagi are often framed with olive and laurel trees, the vast majority of the Trees of Life depicted on sarcophagi are palm trees, or more precisely date palms.[28] This can be seen on the two sarcophagi from Ravenna, illustrating respectively Christ among the Apostles[29] and Christ with Peter and Paul in the *Traditio legis*.[30]

The Tree of Knowledge was represented in an extensive range of media and techniques. Some of the first known representations of the Fall of Man were paintings located in the Roman catacombs, which date to the third century.[31] The earliest known sculpted examples also occurred in sepulchral monuments. The well-known sarcophagus of the Roman senator and city prefect Junius Bassus bears an inscription documenting his death as a neophyte on 25 August 359. It is decorated

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Wortspiel — m*a*lum = Apfel; malum = das Böse, Üble — zu seiner Verführerrolle', Kirchner, *Die Darstellung des ersten Menschenpaares*, p. 17.

[23] Demandt, *Über allen Wipfeln*, pp. 22–23. See also Goetz, *Der Feigenbaum*, p. 33.

[24] Sauerländer, 'Romanesque Sculpture', pp. 22, 25.

[25] Vöge, 'The Pioneers of the Study of Nature', trans. by Chabrowe.

[26] For the imitation (mimesis) of nature in the thirteenth century, see 'Chapter III (Kunst und Wissenschaft)' in Krohm, *Der Naumburger Meister*, with articles, inter alia, from Siebert, '"Einführung" zu III Kunst und Wissenschaft', Scheuer, 'Secundum Phisicam et ad Litteram', and Wittekind, 'Bauornamentik als Kunsttheorie?'.

[27] Flemming, 'Baum, Bäume', p. 260.

[28] For the use of trees as framing devices between niches on sarcophagi, see Gerke, *Die christlichen Sarkophage*, pp. 234–315 ('Die Sarkophage mit Baumgliederung und ihr Umkreis').

[29] For more detailed information on the sarcophagus of Bishop Exuperantius (d. *c.* 477) in the cathedral at Ravenna, see Kollwitz and Herdejürgen, *Die Ravennatischen Sarkophage*, cat. no. B9, pp. 61–62, 125, fig. 45.3.

[30] The sarcophagus with reliefs illustrating the *Traditio legis* dates to *c.* 400/25 and is now held in the Museo Nazionale of Ravenna; see Kollwitz and Herdejürgen, *Die Ravennatischen Sarkophage*, cat. no. B4, pp. 56–57, 112–14, figs 31.1, 32.1, and 33.3.

[31] Third-century paintings of the Fall of Man have been found in the catacombs SS. Pietro e Marcellino and *Coemeterium majus*.

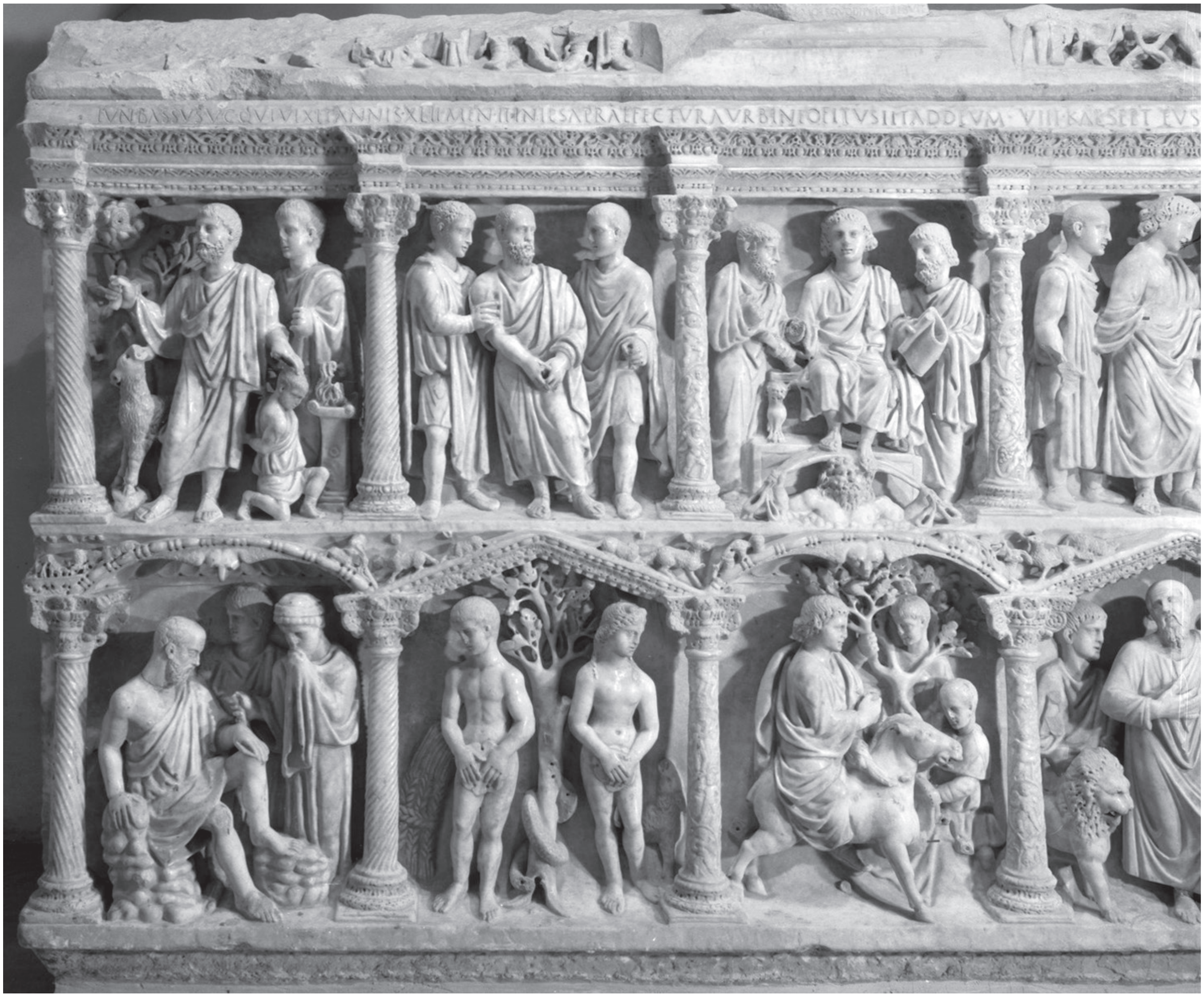

Figure 7.3. 'Sarcophagus Junius Bassus (d. 359)', Rome, Museo Storico del Tesoro della Basilica di San Pietro. Photo courtesy of Bildarchiv Foto Marburg.

with a complex iconographic programme on the theme of salvation from death and sin, which is distributed in column niches on different registers.[32] In the reliefs the naked Adam and Eve turn away from each other, and their nudity is covered by a large fig leaf (Figure 7.3). The fig tree between them is flourishing and bears fruit, and the serpent coiled around its trunk clearly identifies it as the Tree of Knowledge. The tree is not difficult to recognize as figures and plants were portrayed realistically as a matter of course in the late antique tradition of standing statuary. This realistic tendency can also be observed in the representation of the first man and woman, the vine tendrils sculpted on some of the columns, as well as the lamb and the corn stock — the offerings of Cain and Abel, which are included here as a foreshadow of events that are yet to come.

On the Dogmatic Sarcophagus in Rome, the tree in the scene of the Assignment of Tasks in the Garden is not as easily identifiable; however, it is clearly a broad-leafed deciduous tree and not a palm.[33] The Tree of Knowledge can be identified by the serpent twined about its trunk in the earthly Paradise depicted in the upper right corner of the ivory diptych of the consul

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[32] The sarcophagus of Junius Bassus is now held in the Museum of the Basilica of Saint Peter in Rome; see Struthers Malbon, *The Iconography of the Sarcophagus of Junius Bassus*.

[33] This sarcophagus of the fourth century was formerly held in the church of San Paolo fuori le Mura and is now located in the Lateran Museum (Rome, Museo Pio Cristiano); see Russo, 'Il sarcofago 104 dogmatico del Museo Pio', and Struthers Malbon, *The Iconography of the Sarcophagus of Junius Bassus*, fig. 5.

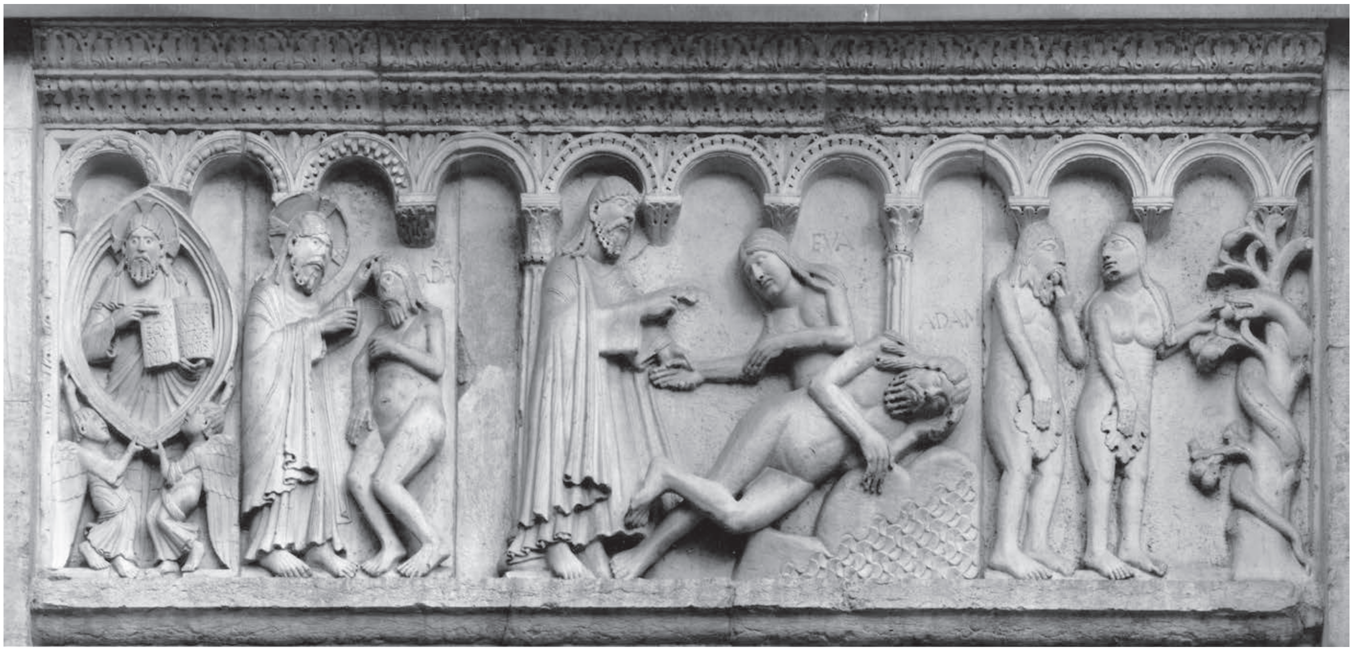

Figure 7.4. 'Genesis, frieze', Modena Cathedral, west façade. *c.* 1100. Photo courtesy of Ralph Lieberman.

Areobindus, which was reused in *c.* 875.[34] Similarly, two different trees are depicted in the ivory reliefs of the former antependium from the Cathedral of San Matteo in Salerno, dated *c.* 1080 and today in the Diocesan Cathedral Museum.[35] On the left side of the ivory panel the Creation of Eve takes place in the Garden of Eden, which is shown with the four rivers of Paradise and different types of fruit trees. In the Temptation and Fall on the right, the serpent winds itself around the trunk of an apple tree. Different types of trees are also shown on the bronze doors of the church of San Zeno Maggiore in Verona (*c.* 1138), in particular those in the Accusation scene on the right-hand door; but no fruit is shown on the Tree of Knowledge.[36]

In most cases the botanical species of the trees in the Garden of Eden are not precisely defined in the reliefs and sculptures of the first half of the twelfth century; however, two distinct types of trees were clearly represented. On the ancient choir pillars of the abbey church of Cluny, for instance, the Trees of Paradise are shown on two capitals.[37] Although the capitals were clearly inspired by classical forms, the trees were not rendered in a realistic fashion, as in early Christian examples. The species of trees were differentiated by their leaves or fruit. The capital depicting the rivers of Paradise shows two broad-leafed trees with round fruit, which can be distinguished by the shape of their leaves. Two distinctly different trees also figure in another capital illustrating the Fall of Man at Cluny.[38] Here, Adam and Eve hide before God and clothe themselves with the foliage from a fig tree. Previously, they had eaten from the Tree of Knowledge, which can be identified by the serpent coiled around its trunk and the resemblance of its leaves to those of an apple tree.

Although only the Tree of Knowledge is represented in the Genesis frieze on the west façade of Modena Cathedral, it is clear that the fig leaves covering Adam and Eve differ from those growing on the tree (Figure 7.4).[39] This difference in foliage is also immediately apparent in

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[34] Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. no. OA 9064 (SMC 48), see Gaborit-Chopin, *Ivoires médiévaux V^{e}–XV^{e} siécle*, cat. no. 41 and 8.

[35] See Bergman, *The Salerno Ivories*, pp. 20–21, cat. no. 4, fig. 5.

[36] See Mende, *Die Bronzetüren des Mittelalters*, figs 76 and 77; and Zuliani, 'La porta bronzea di S. Zeno a Verona'. The reliefs on the façade are in the direct vicinity of the bronze doors and are dated *c.* 1138 and signed by Nicholaus. They show different scenes from Genesis, including the Fall of Man; however, only one tree is illustrated in Paradise; see Kain, *The Sculpture of Nicholaus*, pp. 169–205.

[37] These capitals are now held in the Musée du Farinier, Cluny, and date to either 1088–95 or more plausibly to 1115/20. For discussion of the different dates, see Gosebruch, 'Über die Bildmacht der burgundischen Skulptur', pp. 51–52, and Rupprecht, *Romanische Skulptur in Frankreich*, pp. 106–07. See also Diemer, 'What Does Prudentia Advise?', p. 150.

[38] Capital C 10, Musée du Farinier, Cluny; see Rupprecht, *Romanische Skulptur in Frankreich*, fig. 142.

[39] West façade, Modena Cathedral, *c.* 1100; see Glass, 'Leggendo il Genesi', also Glass, *The Sculpture of Reform*, pp. 165–74.

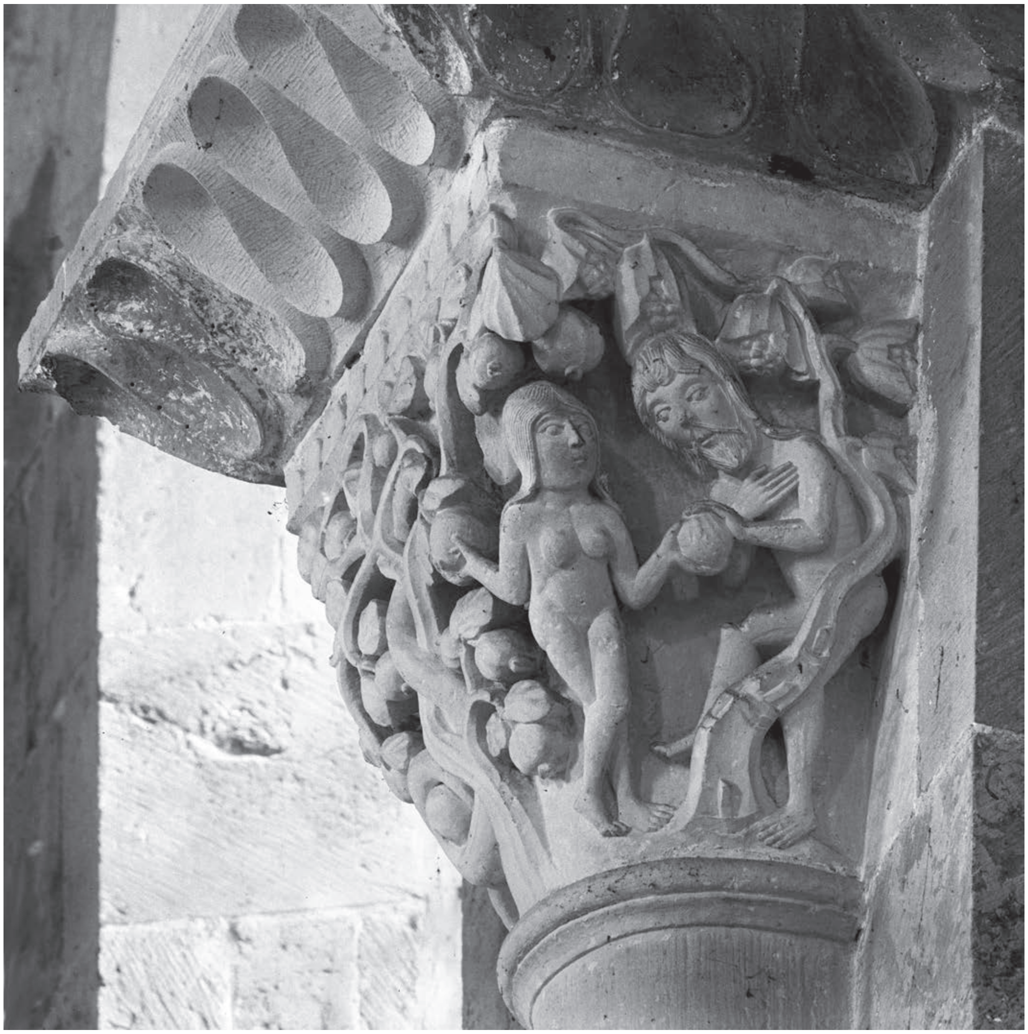

Figure 7.5.
'Fall of Man, capital', Vézelay, Sainte-Madeleine, *c.* 1125–40. Photo courtesy of Bildarchiv Foto Marburg.

the historiated capital depicting the Fall of Man in the nave of San Michele Maggiore at Pavia, *c.* 1120–30,[40] and also in the same episode shown on the capital in the cathedral of Sainte-Madeleine in Vézelay, dated *c.* 1125–40 (Figure 7.5).[41] Different types of trees are also found on the fragment of the lintel relief of Saint-Lazare's transept portal at Autun, which dates to *c.* 1130 and is now in the Musée Rolin (Figure 7.6).[42] The tree covering Eve's nudity has large lobed leaves and bears bunches of fruit. The leaves of the tree with the serpent, which Eve reaches back to in order to pluck the fruit, are smaller and of different shape. However, on the lintel of the west portal of the monastery church of Saints Peter and Paul at Andlau in Alsace, which also dates to *c.* 1130, the fig leaves of Adam and Eve appear to differ only slightly from those of the Tree of Knowledge.[43] The compound leaves on this tree are splayed and are no longer the same heart-shaped apple leaf observed on the capital at Cluny.

At times it is the tree trunk and the branches which resemble an apple or a fig tree, and the fruit, admittedly, often resembles bunches of grapes or brings to mind — as does the previous example — a pomegranate similar to that found on the northern portal of Sant'Antonino in Piacenza. In the Piacenza relief, which dates to the third quarter of the twelfth century, the figures flanking the portal represent the progenitors of humankind. Eve holds the fruit in her right hand.[44]

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[40] See Chierici, *Le sculture della Basilica*, capital no. 14, p. 31.

[41] See Diemer, 'Stil und Ikonographie', capital no. S93, pp. 377–79, and Ambroise, *The Nave Sculpture of Vézelay*, pp. 20–28, 113, cat. no. 93.

[42] See Seidel, *Legends in Limestone*, passim.

[43] See Forster, *Die Vorhalle als Paradies*.

[44] See Poeschke, *Die Skulptur des Mittelalters in Italien, Romanik*. Fiorentini, *Le Chiese di Piacenza*, pp. 52–58. Glass, *Italian*

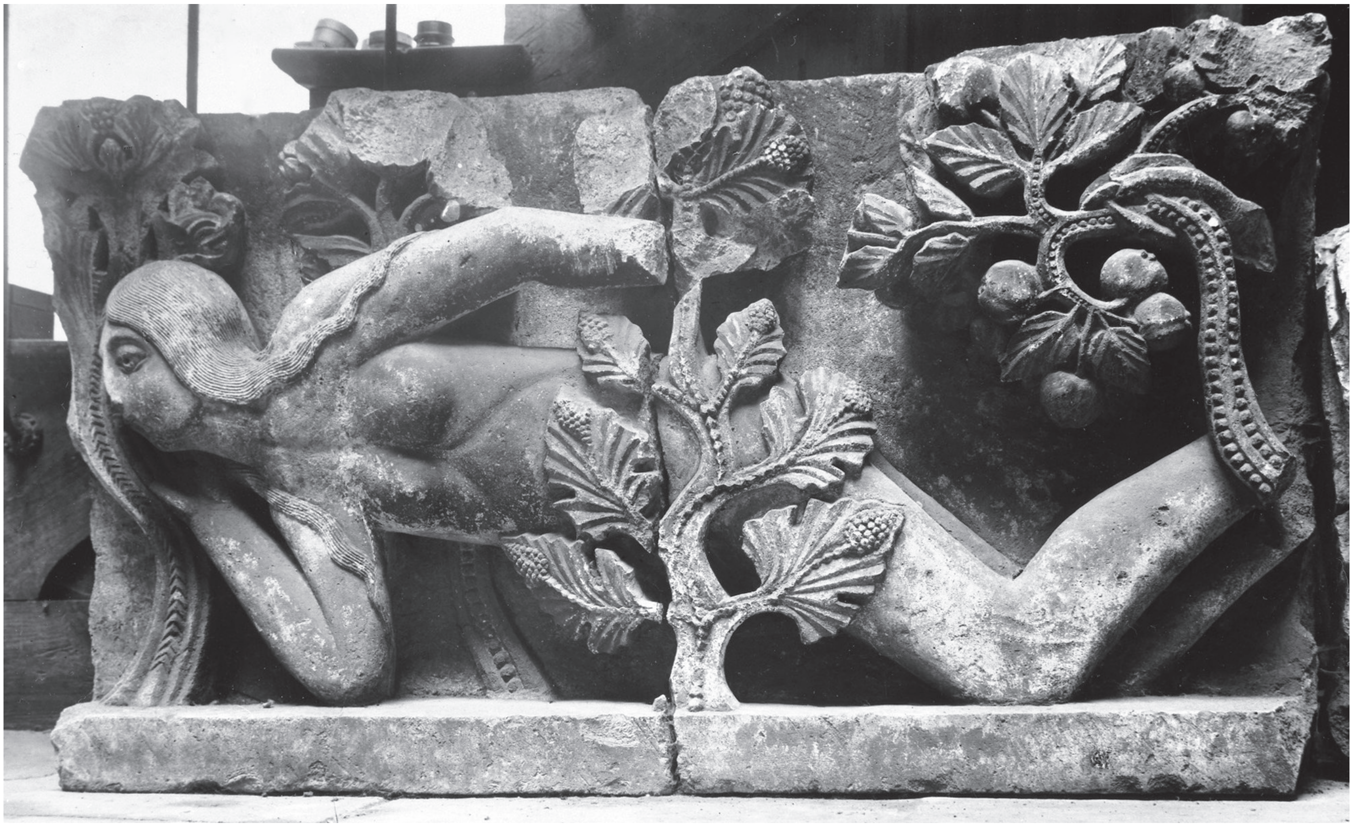

Figure 7.6. 'Eve, lintel relief', Autun, Musée Rolin, *c.* 1130. Photo courtesy of Bildarchiv Foto Marburg.

A perplexing example of trees can be seen in the capital frieze of the south-west pillar in the cloister of Girona in Spain, *c.* 1150.[45] Here, Adam and Eve are led by God to a tree with berry-like fruit (Figure 7.7). The next episode shows the pair eating from the Tree of Knowledge, which is obviously the same tree as the one depicted previously. However, it also bears a second type of fruit which is smooth and round like apples or figs and is completely different from the berries growing beside it. In a subsequent episode, Adam and Eve are portrayed hiding themselves with the leaves of a tree — which according to the biblical text should be the fig tree. These leaves, however, resemble those from the fruit trees seen in the previous scenes.

In yet another example, the first couple are shown in a condensed narrative of the Fall of Man on the façade frieze of Saint-Trophime at Arles, which dates to 1178.[46] It shows Adam and Eve flanking a single tree, which is the Tree of Knowledge. However, as it can be identified as the same tree that provided leaves to cover the nudity of Adam and Eve, it also represents the Tree of Life. This gradual disappearance, in terms of representation, of a second tree in Paradise and the predominant representation of only one tree, which is the forbidden tree bearing fruit, is also noticeable in the cloister of the cathedral at Monreale, dated between 1174 and 1189 (Figure 7.8).[47] The representation of a single tree, complete with leaves and fruit, can be seen here in this capital of the east wing of the cloister, where the episodes of Original Sin and the story of Cain and Abel are represented. On the west side Adam and Eve are shown naked without shame next to the Tree of Knowledge. The serpent slides up its trunk as Eve reaches for the forbidden fruit.

The narrative on the capital of the former cathedral pulpit in Parma, which Benedetto Antelami sculpted in 1178, begins with Adam and Eve being led by God into the Garden of Eden.[48] In the following scene Adam and

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Romanesque Sculpture, p. 196.

[45] See Lorés i Otzet, 'La Catedral (o Santa Maria) de Girona', pp. 119–31.

[46] See Hartmann-Virnich and others, *Le Portail de Saint-Trophime d'Arles*.

[47] Capital E20Sh44, for the Cloister of Monreale, see Visual Computing Lab, *Cenobium*.

[48] Capital from the cathedral pulpit in Parma, inv. no. 1816, Galleria Nazionale, Parma. Giuseppa Z. Zanichelli in Quintavalle,

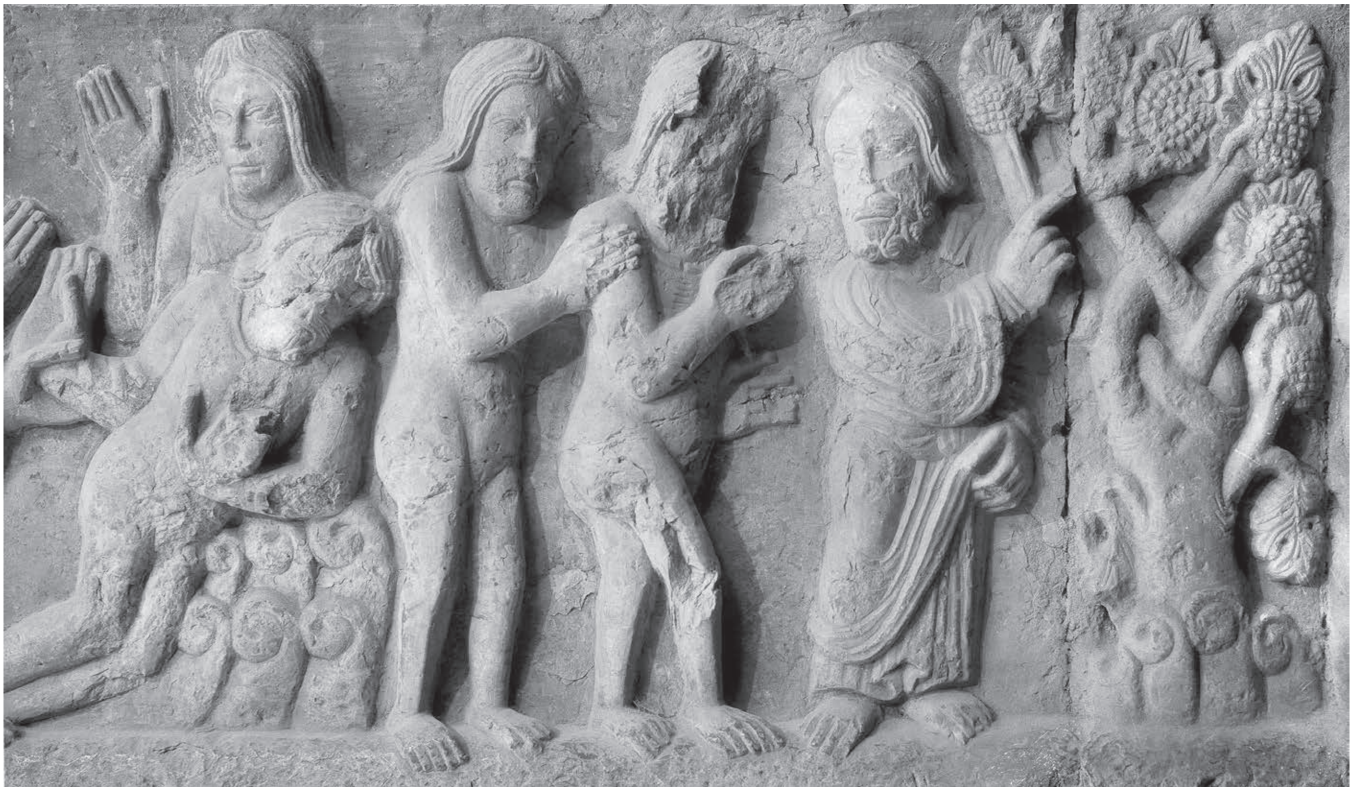

Figure 7.7. 'Fall of Man, capital frieze', Girona, south-west pillar of the cloister. *c.* 1150.
Photo courtesy of Fundació Instituto Amatller de Arte Hispánico. Archivo Mas.

Eve sit on a bench framed by two trees, and a third tree grows behind them (Figure 7.9). While the trees at the sides of the scene are apple trees, and therefore clearly represent the Tree of Knowledge, the three large leaves sprouting from the central tree resemble palm fronds. Adam and Eve are then portrayed in a crouching position after the Fall, in an effort to cover their nakedness with leaves (Figure 7.10). There is no bench to accommodate them in this scene. The couple's legs are drawn up under their bellies as they crouch on either side of a fig tree. In this narrative sequence Adam and Eve are shown fully clothed as they eat the forbidden fruit, well before they have any knowledge of their nakedness. They only lose their clothes after eating the fruit and in the episode of their expulsion from Eden.[49]

The northern capital in the narthex of the parish church of Santa Maria Assunta in Fornovo di Taro is derived from the capital in Parma and is also sculpted with scenes from Genesis.[50] Facing the front of the capital, the serpent winds itself around the tree standing on the left of the composition. The snake is shown as it approaches Eve, who is sitting next to the tree.[51] Eve takes the apple from the Tree of Knowledge in the middle of the capital and gives it to Adam, who seems to choke on the forbidden fruit and is shown clutching at his throat.[52]

A much later example, produced by the workshop of Vassalletto in *c.* 1230/35, is an episode of the Fall of Man in the spandrel relief on the cloister of San Paolo fuori le Mura in Rome (Figure 7.11). Here, Adam is shown grabbing at his throat after biting into the fruit, which has been picked from a tree with fig leaves.[53]

Benedetto Antelami, cat. no. 18a, p. 353 and pp. 244–45.

[49] See Settis, '*Iconografia dell'arte italiana, 1100–1500: Una linea*', pp. 45–47; von Erffa, *Ikonologie der Genesis*, pp. 221–39; Woelk, *Benedetto Antelami*, p. 89.

[50] Quintavalle, 'Una recinzione presbitiale a Fornovo', pp. 181–82; and Pellegri, *Santa Maria di Fornovo*. For discussion of the architecture of the church, see Moratti, 'La pieve di Santa Maria Assunta a Fornovo di Taro'.

[51] For the Temptation of Eve, see von Erffa, *Ikonologie der Genesis*, pp. 166–71; on the motif of the snake whispering in Eve's ear, see p. 168.

[52] For discussion of Adam's gesture, see von Erffa, *Ikonologie der Genesis*, pp. 182–83.

[53] Biferali, 'Ridicula monstruositas?', p. 47.

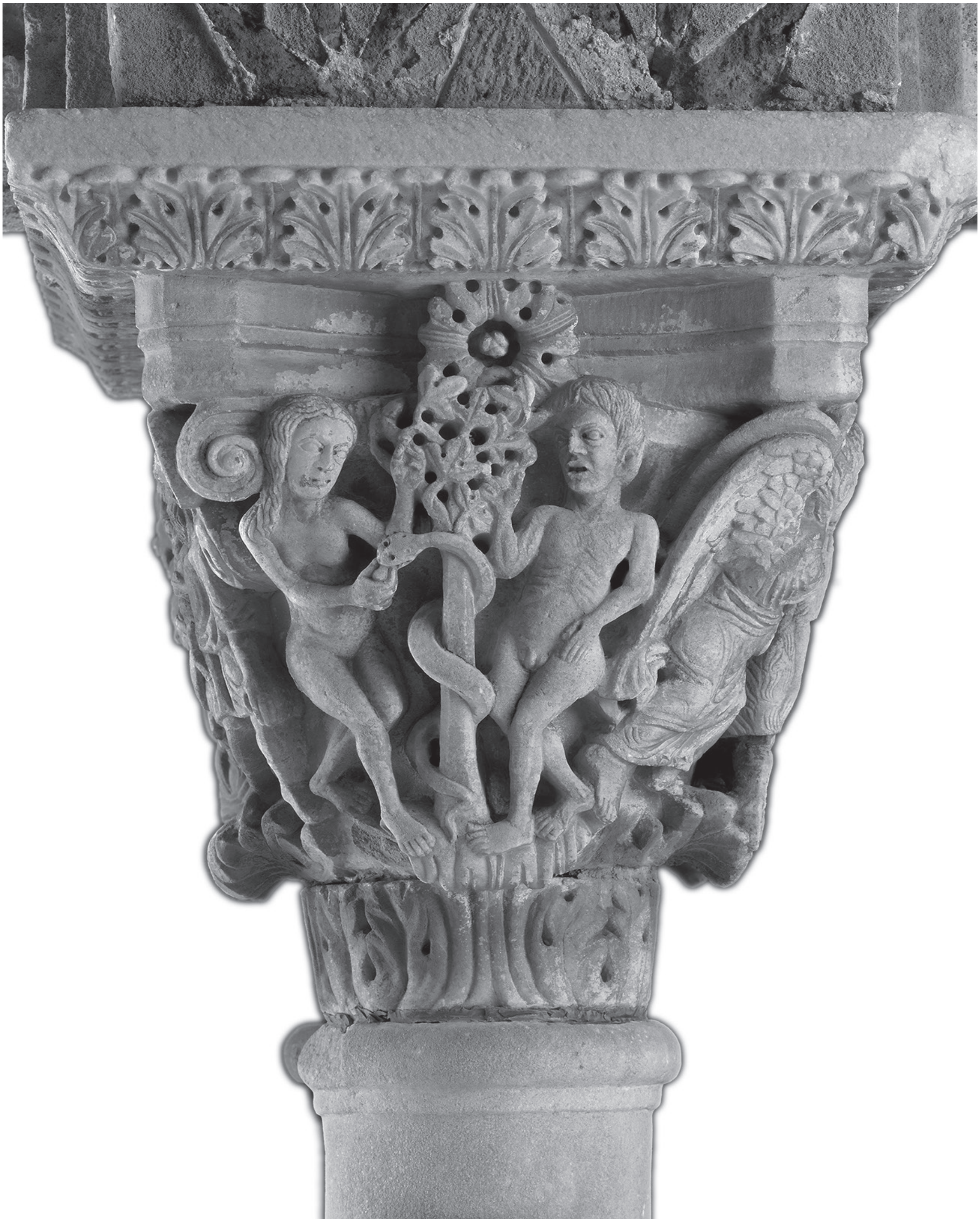

Figure 7.8. 'Fall of Man, capital', Monreale, east wing of the cloister of the cathedral. 1174–89.
Photo Roberto Sigismondi, courtesy of the Kunsthistorisches Institut in Florenz (Max-Planck-Institut).

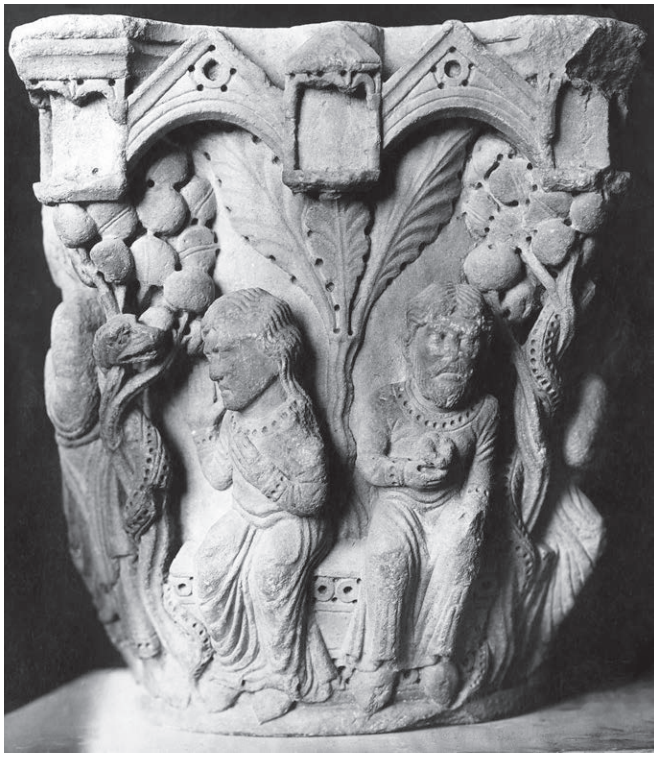

Figure 7.9. 'Fall of Man, capital', Parma, Galleria Nazionale. *c*. 1178. Photo courtesy of the Kunsthistorisches Institut in Florenz (Max-Planck-Institut).

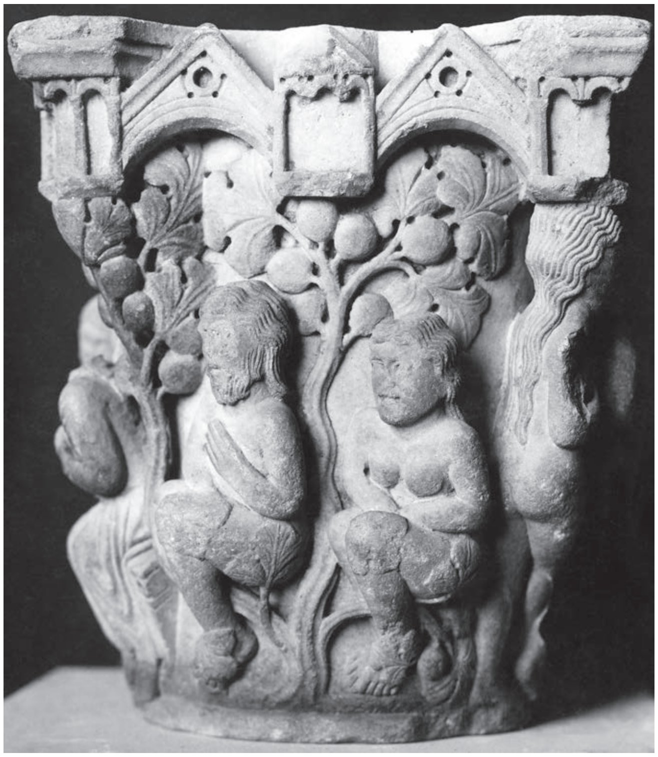

Figure 7.10. 'Fall of Man, capital', Parma, Galleria Nazionale. *c*. 1178. Photo courtesy of the Kunsthistorisches Institut in Florenz (Max-Planck-Institut).

On a holy water basin of northern Italian origin, which is problematic, not least for the continued debate regarding its authenticity and date of *c*. 1200, the fruit shown on the tree resembles apples but the leaves are ribbed lengthways.[54] This was not a typical feature of the foliage on either the apple or the fig tree, but rather seems to allude to a species of acanthus. The foliage is, however, identical to the leaves which Adam and Eve use to cover themselves. This later example is reminiscent of Antelami's sculptural circle, which was particularly well known for its naturalistic style. If the water basin does actually date to the Middle Ages, it is astonishing that despite the extreme precision in rendering the proportion and movement of the figures, which adhere closely to naturalistic forms, the tree itself is depicted in a summary manner. The sculptor responsible was obviously capable of representing the specific attributes of either an apple or a fig tree, and this forces us to ask why he chose not to portray any of the recognizable attributes of these trees. A possible explanation could be the fact that these representations are indeed exceedingly faithful to the text. On this subject, Oswald Goetz noted that one should perhaps pose different questions; namely, Why are the two trees in the story of creation not more clearly defined? and Why does the text speaks only of 'tree' and 'fruit'? By not naming the tree, the text purposely leaves the botanical identification of the tree and fruit open to the imagination of the reader. The reader is therefore induced to expand on the mental references connected to the two trees in his own mind. He can reflect on the relationship between them and, in relating them to his own experience of the physical world, metaphorically plant the trees in the Paradise of his own mind.[55] The artist, on the other hand, had to make decisions regarding how the theme was to be visualized.

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[54] The holy water basin, perhaps from Bobbio, inv. no. 11/64, Skulpturensammlung und Museum für Byzantinische Kunst, Berlin. For a highly controversial discussion regarding the date and whether the object is in fact genuine, see Bloch, 'Wie Adam und Eva sich schürzten'; Buczynski, 'Wenn kunsthistorische Interpretationen'.

[55] See Goetz, *Der Feigenbaum*, p. 21.

Some Remarks on Naturalism in Italian Romanesque Sculpture

The comparison of the works of art discussed above with a series of northern Italian calendar cycles, ranging from works of art produced a century earlier to those produced within a contemporary time frame, demonstrates that Romanesque sculptors were capable of precise botanical renderings of trees and fruit. The calendar cycles were derived from ancient Roman calendars, where the months were personified in a frontal position with a surrogate of the particular god associated with them. The typical activities associated with these months became predominant in the allegorical scenes in the twelfth century.[56] An early example of this iconography is found on the Porta della Pescheria at Modena Cathedral, which dates to *c.* 1120/30.[57] One of the latest representations of the labours of the months in Romanesque sculpture is found on the central western portal of the cathedral of San Marco in Venice (*c.* 1240).[58]

The motifs and themes that illustrate the agrarian cycle came from a well-established artistic vocabulary, but they could be varied by diverse regional influences. They illustrated the activities of the months, satisfying a common need to describe these labours and also fulfilling the increasingly compelling urge to represent nature. The sculptures of the labours of the months on the former Porta dei Mesi in Ferrara are excellent examples of the naturalistic style predominant in art by the second half of the thirteenth century. In contrast to the representation of the grape harvest on the Porta della Pescheria in Modena, the figure representing the month of September at Ferrara is shown in profile, clothed in a light robe with bare feet (Figure 7.12).[59] The scene is rendered in fine detail, right down to the grape vines being harvesting and the clothes which ride up over the small of the worker's back to reveal the wineskin he wears buckled at his waist.

Realistic representation and the precise observation of nature, which prevailed in classical art, were, more or less, lost in medieval sculpture. Plants and animals are mostly reduced to and recognized by certain specific attributes, and medieval sculpture developed — in contrast to classical art — a very restricted formal repertoire of motifs for naturalistic expression. However, through the depictions of the Fall of Man described above, it becomes clear that sculptors, despite their limited means of expression, developed both the means and the desire to visually distinguish, even subtly, the two Trees of Paradise. Although the different fruit on the trees at times was not truly convincing and appears rather like a symbolic abbreviation, the shapes of the leaves of both the fig and the apple trees are still faithfully observed and reproduced. Moreover, in the twelfth century medieval sculpture shows a tendency towards more naturalistic representations of nature itself. This is reflected in profane themes such as the agrarian cycle of the labours of the months, or the representation of artisans in Piacenza,[60] and the 'Venetian Trades' on the portal of San Marco.[61] This tendency towards natural representation can also be seen in the pictorial language of scenes from Genesis. The Tree of Knowledge was, for the master sculptor, a necessary element in the Genesis

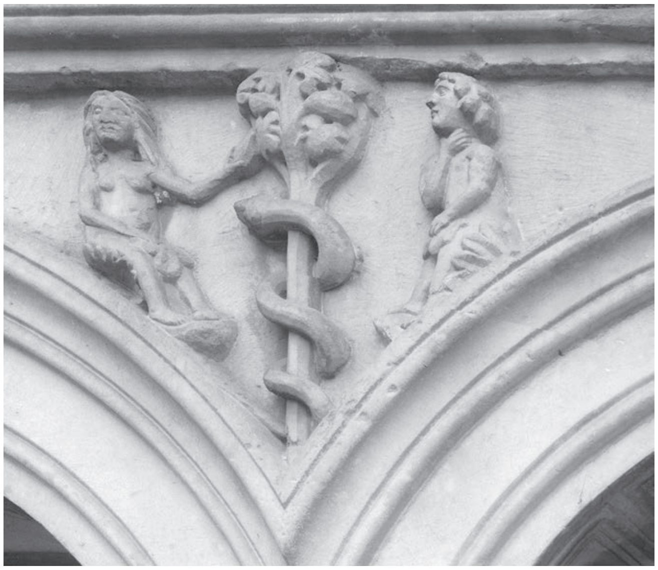

Figure 7.11. 'Fall of Man, relief', Rome, San Paolo fuori le Mura, cloister. Photo Oscar Savio, courtesy of the Bibliotheca Hertziana, Max-Planck-Institut für Kunstgeschichte, Rome.

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[56] See Dercks, 'Die Monatsarbeiten der ehemaligen Porta dei Mesi'.

[57] See Glass, *The Sculpture of Reform*, pp. 108–62 (pp. 133, 188–90). Jens Reiche dates the Porta della Pescheria in Modena to *c.* 1106: Reiche, 'Die älteste Skulptur am Modeneser Dom', pp. 284–92.

[58] Tigler, *Il portale maggiore di San Marco a Venezia*.

[59] Maestro dei Mesi, *c.* 1225/30, Ferrara, Museo della Cattedrale, inv. no. MC045; see Dercks, 'Die Monatsarbeiten der ehemaligen Porta dei Mesi'.

[60] For the reliefs inside the cathedral Santa Maria Assunta in Piacenza, dated to either 1130/40 or 1150/60, see Klein, *Die Kathedrale von Piacenza*, pp. 259–64.

[61] For the representation of the Venetian trades, the 'Mestieri veneziani', in the archivolts of the central portal of the Basilica of San Marco in Venice, see Tigler, *Il portale maggiore di San Marco a Venezia*, pp. 255–314.

description of Paradise, whereas the Tree of Life had a more general symbolic significance.[62]

Conclusion

Two trees in paradise? — the title of this essay can be understood as both a statement and a question. It covers a large thematic field, which ranges from the creation of the Tree of Paradise and the legend of the True Cross. In the article, the title is treated as an open issue, which, within the discipline of art history, is limited in terms of iconography and time period in order to concentrate on the representational typologies of medieval sculpture. Restrictions of time and genre were determined by the transformation in sculpted architectural programmes which took place during this particular epoch. The innovation of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries brought forth a new kind of naturalism exemplified in representations of the calendar and months. The extent to which the study and representation of nature regained its cultural value can be clearly seen in these decorative cycles. How the Tree of Knowledge is illustrated in the Fall of Man serves to further clarify whether the representation and differentiation of the Trees of Paradise reflects an increasing understanding of nature. The examples in the material shown here demonstrate that the Tree of Knowledge was almost always visually distinct from all the other trees in Paradise. At the same time, it is clear that the representation of the Tree of Knowledge as one particular species of tree was generally avoided. In a similar manner to Werner Goetz's observations of the biblical text and its readers, it becomes apparent that the species of tree was not always determined by the artist, whose illustrations often leave the identification of the tree and fruit open to the imagination of the viewer. There is one exception: the leaf with which Adam and Eve covered their nakedness at the Fall is usually recognizable as a fig leaf. This is because it is mentioned specifically as such in the Bible. The artists were following the text in depicting this species. It is evident that different artisans, whether they were stone cutters or ivory carvers, left their own particular imprint on the visual renderings of the text, but as artists they were obliged to choose a tree to depict. Despite this quandary, they remained faithful to the non-specific nature of the Genesis text by maintaining a certain generic vagueness.

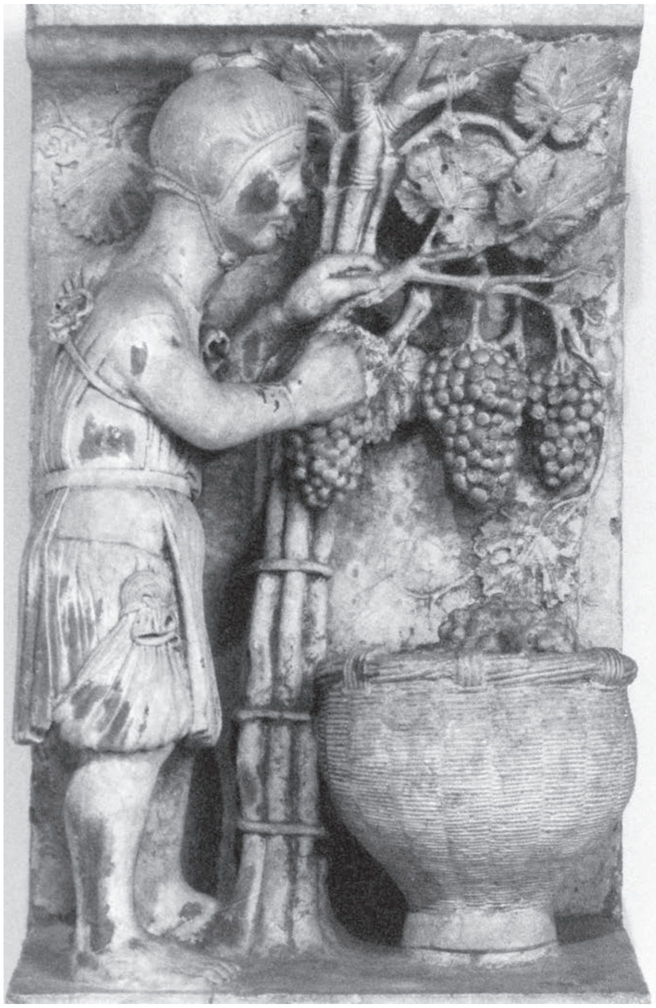

Figure 7.12. 'Labour of the Month September, grape harvest, relief', Maestro dei Mesi, Ferrara, Museo della Cattedrale, inv. no. MC045. Photo: Ute Dercks.

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[62] Von Erffa, *Ikonologie der Genesis*, p. 120.

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THE TREE AS NARRATIVE, FORMAL, AND ALLEGORICAL INDEX IN REPRESENTATIONS OF THE *NOLI ME TANGERE*

Barbara Baert and Liesbet Kusters*

Few motifs have such broad ramifications in medieval iconography as the tree. Its leaves and branches quiver with metaphors and allegories; its roots pulse with symbolic energy. The *Noli me tangere* motif is among those charged with the multiple energy fields of the tree.

John 20. 17 describes how Mary Magdalene, after Christ's death, visits his tomb to anoint his body. When she discovers the stone is rolled aside and the body gone, she asks a man whom she takes to be the gardener where the body of Jesus is. When the man calls out her name, however, she recognizes Him as her 'Rabbouni' and instinctively reaches out for Him. Christ answers to her longing with the words 'Noli me tangere' — 'Do not touch me' — 'for I am not yet ascended to my Father'.

Noli me tangere is in itself a multifacetted motif in medieval art. Sculptors, miniaturists, and painters created compelling responses to the fascinating encounter between Mary Magdalene and Christ described in John 20. 11–18. In meeting the challenge of conveying the subtle accumulation of action and dialogue in a single scene, the iconographic language of *Noli me tangere* is condensed to a few basic elements: the gaze, the longing for a touch, as well as the prohibition of it, and the garden with the tomb. Although never described in John, this garden is often represented by a tree. In this essay we will seek to identify the iconographic sources, the roots of this tree, for it is a motif that seems to function not only as a compositional formula or as a pars pro toto, but it is also charged with allegorical significance. To this end we will follow a threefold path, exploring the meaning of the motif of the tree as narrative, formal, and allegorical index.

The Tree as Narrative Index

At the very origins and in the early development of the iconography of the *Noli me tangere*, the tree was often given a central position.[1] A miniature in the *Codex Egberti* (*c.* 977–93) shows the first unmistakable repre-

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* This article is the fruit of an interdisciplinary project at the Catholic University of Leuven, involving the Faculty of Theology and the Department of Art History, entitled *Mary Magdalene and the Touching of Jesus: An Intra- and Interdisciplinary Research Project in the Interpretation of John 20,17*. In this project strong emphasis was laid on the relationship between art, religious culture, and anthropology, a methodology that has also been most fruitful in exploring the significance of the motif of the tree, as this motif voices even more profound medieval, historical, religious, and anthropological concepts. The text was translated by Paul Arblaster, with special thanks to Niels Schalley for his editorial work on the footnotes and bibliography.

[1] For the origins of the *Noli me tangere* motif, see Baert and Kusters, 'The Twilight Zone of the *Noli me tangere*'. The encounter between Christ and an unaccompanied figure of Mary (Magdalene) does not occur in art before 850. Prior to the mid-ninth century, the Resurrection was depicted either by showing the Three Marys at the tomb or by showing Christ's appearance to two Marys, the *Chairete*. The Three Marys and the *Chairete* would ultimately provide the basic characteristics of later *Noli me tangere* iconography.

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sentation of the *Noli me tangere* (Figure 8.1). The scene of Mary Magdalene's encounter with Christ illustrates the text from John 20. 11–18 given on fol. 90^{v}, and both protagonists are also identified by inscriptions.[2] John 20. 11–18 recounts:

> Now as she was weeping, she stooped down and looked into the sepulchre. And she saw two angels in white, sitting, one at the head, and one at the feet, where the body of Jesus has been laid. They say to her: Woman, why weepest thou? She saith to them: Because they have taken away my Lord: and I know not where they have laid him. When she had thus said, she turned herself back and saw Jesus standing: and she knew not that it was Jesus. Jesus saith to her: Woman, why weepest thou? Whom seekest thou? She, thinking that it was the gardener, saith to him: Sir, if thou hast taken him hence, tell me where thou hast laid him: and I will take him away. Jesus saith to her: Mary. She turning, saith to him: Rabboni (which is to say, Master). Jesus saith to her: Do not touch me: for I am not yet ascended to my Father. But go to my brethren and say to them: I ascend to my Father and to your Father, to my God and to your God. Mary Magdalen cometh and telleth the disciples: I have seen the Lord; and these things he said to me.

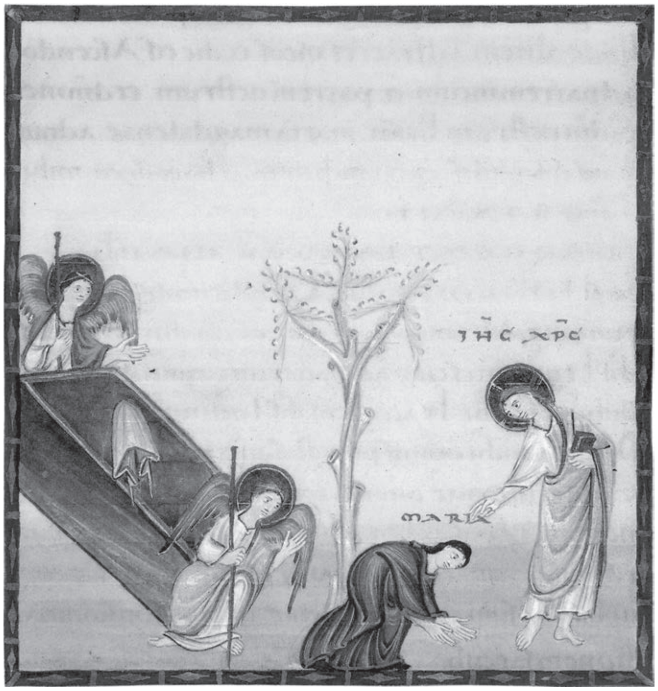

Figure 8.1. '*Noli me tangere*', *Codex Egberti*, Trier, Stadtbibliothek, MS 24, fol. 90^{v}. 977–83. Photo courtesy of the Stadtbibliothek, Trier.

Earlier, in John 19. 41, the tomb had been localized near Golgotha: 'Now there was in the place where he was crucified a garden: and in the garden a new sepulchre, wherein no man yet had been laid'. After Joseph of Arimathea and Nicodemus had taken Christ from the cross and wrapped his body in linen cloths with spices, they laid the body in the tomb in the garden.[3] John 20. 1 and John 20. 5–8 indicate that this was a rock tomb: the stone had been rolled away from the tomb, and Simon Peter and a second disciple, who leant forward and saw the linen cloths, entered the tomb. Although John gives no specifics of the 'garden' in which the tomb was situated, the visual setting of *Noli me tangere* was represented as a single motif: the tree. This early iconography remained throughout the Middle Ages.[4]

The miniature in the *Codex Egberti* shows on the left a simple representation of the tomb with an angel holding a staff at each end of the empty sarcophagus; the shroud lies in the hollow of the grave.[5] The angels are watching and pointing towards both Christ and Mary Magdalene,

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[2] For further information regarding this manuscript, see Ronig, 'Erläuterungen zu den Miniaturen des Egbert Codex', and Schiel, *Codex Egberti der Stadtbibliothek Trier*. Created for Egbert, chancellor to Otto I and Otto II, this codex shows the Ottonian influence on the origins of the *Noli me tangere* motif. Baert and Kusters, 'The Twilight Zone of the *Noli me tangere*', pp. 269–70. In this period, a number of women mentioned in the gospels were conflated in the figure of Mary Magdalene. In a sermon given in the church of San Clemente in Rome on 21 September 591, Gregory the Great (560–604) for the first time identified Mary of Magdala as the sinner in Luke 7. 36–50. Gregory the Great, *Homiliae in Evangelia*, ed. by Etaix, hom. 33. The Venerable Bede (672–735) adds the sister of Lazarus to this cluster: Bede, *In Marci Evangelium expositio*, ed. by Hurst, p. 606; Bede, *In Lucae Evangelium expositio*, ed. by Hurst, p. 413: 'Maria Magdalene ipsa est soror Lazari'. Bede also accepts Gregory's identification of Mary Magdalene with the sinful woman in Luke, whom he refers to as *meretrix*. The imagery of the *Noli me tangere* has to be seen in the light of this composite identity of the female figure.

[3] For an epistemology of the word 'hortus', see Speltincx, 'Raak me niet aan in de Besloten Tuin', pp. 55–61.

[4] Matthew, Mark, and Luke shed no light on this. Matthew says only that Joseph of Arimathea had originally had the tomb made for himself, and that once he had laid Christ's body within it, Mary Magdalene and the other Mary sat opposite the tomb (Matthew 27. 60–61). Mark tells us that Mary Magdalene, Mary the mother of James, and Salome came to the tomb to anoint Christ's body and, finding the stone rolled away, entered the tomb (Mark 16. 1–5). Luke has the women present when the dead body of Christ was placed in the tomb, and later entering the tomb themselves, without giving any details about the tomb's location (Luke 23. 55 and 24. 2–4). John is the only evangelist to use the word 'garden'.

[5] Although the Gospels specify the place of burial as a rock tomb, various types of grave are found in the images. On this point, and for a more general overview of the *Noli me tangere* iconography, see Schiller, *Ikonographie der christlichen Kunst*, III: *Die Auferstehung und Erhöhung Christi* (1971), pp. 18–31, 88–98.

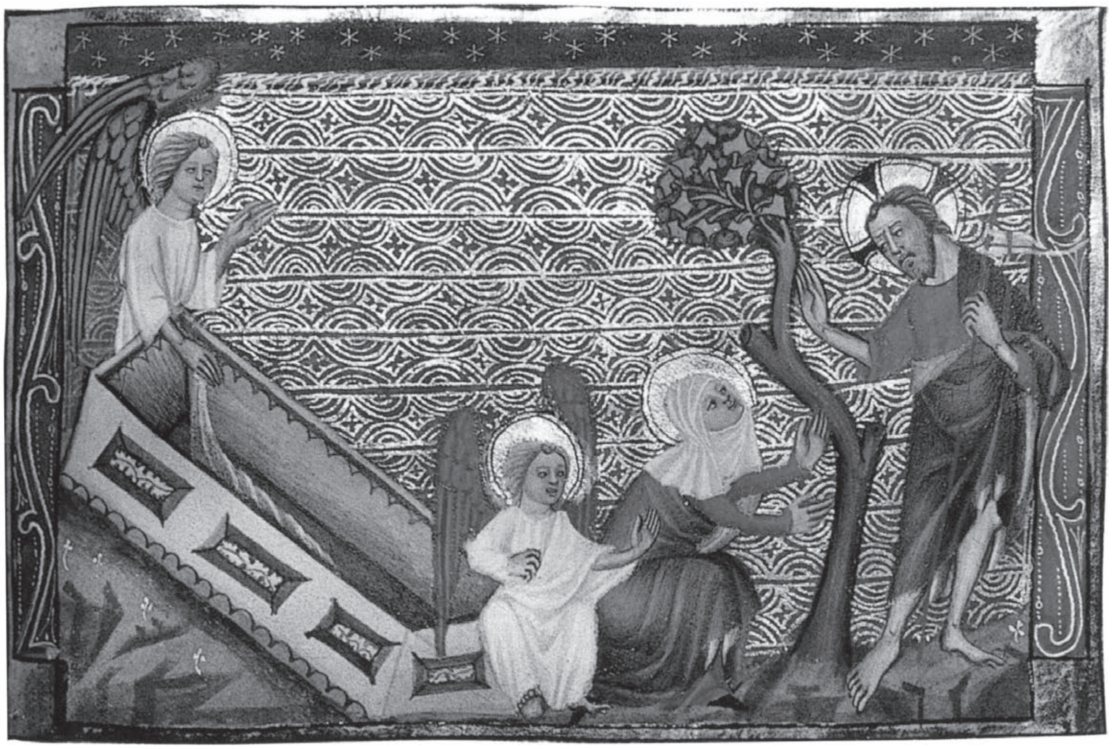

Figure 8.2.
'*Noli me tangere*',
Codex Falkenstein,
Trier, Domschatz,
MS 6, fol. 106^r^. *c*. 1380.
Photo courtesy of
the Stadtbibliothek/
Stadtarchiv Trier.

guiding our gaze to the core of the events depicted: the mysterious contact between Mary Magdalene and Christ. Mary Magdalene kneels and reaches out for Christ's feet. Christ inclines towards Mary Magdalene and points to her; in his left hand he holds a book. In perfect balance with the subtlety of the frozen psychological drama between the miniature's four characters stands a fragile, slender tree.

The tree alludes to the place where the event occurred, bringing to mind the setting of John 20. 11–18, and gives space to the scene depicted. As a *pars pro toto* for the garden mentioned in John's Gospel, the tree became a fixed element in *Noli me tangere* iconography. For example in the fourteenth-century copy of the *Codex Egberti*, the *Codex Falkenstein* in Trier, the tree occupies a significant space (Figure 8.2). The *Codex Falkenstein* was executed on behalf of Kuno II Falkenstein, Archbishop of Trier (1362–88). Mary Magdalene is kneeling and, longing to touch, reaches out towards Christ, who fends her off with a gesture of restraint. Between the two figures, in the zone of tension where contact is forbidden, a tree stretches sinuously upwards.

From the late Middle Ages onwards the motif became progressively more detailed. The tree was multiplied and joined by a profusion of flowers, shrubs, grasses, and blossoms, as in Martin Schongauer's *Noli me tangere* from the second half of the fifteenth century (Figure 8.3).

The Tree as Formal Index

As a *pars pro toto* for the garden in John 20, the motif of the tree does more than provide context for the image. It is generally accepted that a miniature from the Drogo Sacramentary in Metz, which dates to the middle of the ninth century, is the earliest extant representation of the *Noli me tangere* (Figure 8.4).[6] The representation forms part of a historiated 'D'-initial introducing the reading for the Mass on Maundy Thursday, on fol. 63^v^, near the text of John 20. 11–18.[7] The initial is almost entirely dominated by the Holy Sepulchre, flanked by two angels. In the foreground a veiled woman extends her left

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[6] Baert and Kusters, 'The Twilight Zone of the *Noli me tangere*', pp. 265–66. The manuscript was intended for Bishop Drogo (801–55), the illegitimate son of Charlemagne and an important patron of the arts in Metz. Koehler and Mütherich, *Die Karolingischen Miniaturen*, III: *Die Gruppe des Wiener Krönungs-Evangeliars. Metzer Handschriften* (1960), pp. 143–62; Mütherich, *Drogo-Sakramentar*, I: *Faksimile*. On Bishop Drogo, see De Hamel, *A History of Illuminated Manuscripts*, p. 52.

[7] There is also an initial miniature 'D' on fol. 58 which illustrates the preceding passage, John 20. 1–3. Here we see three women by the tomb and the angel who addresses them. Trotzig, 'Christus resurgens apparet Mariae Magdalena', ill. 6a. An exceptional little scene in the margin of this initial shows Christ before one of the women, perhaps as a 'prelude' to the main *Noli me tangere* scene.

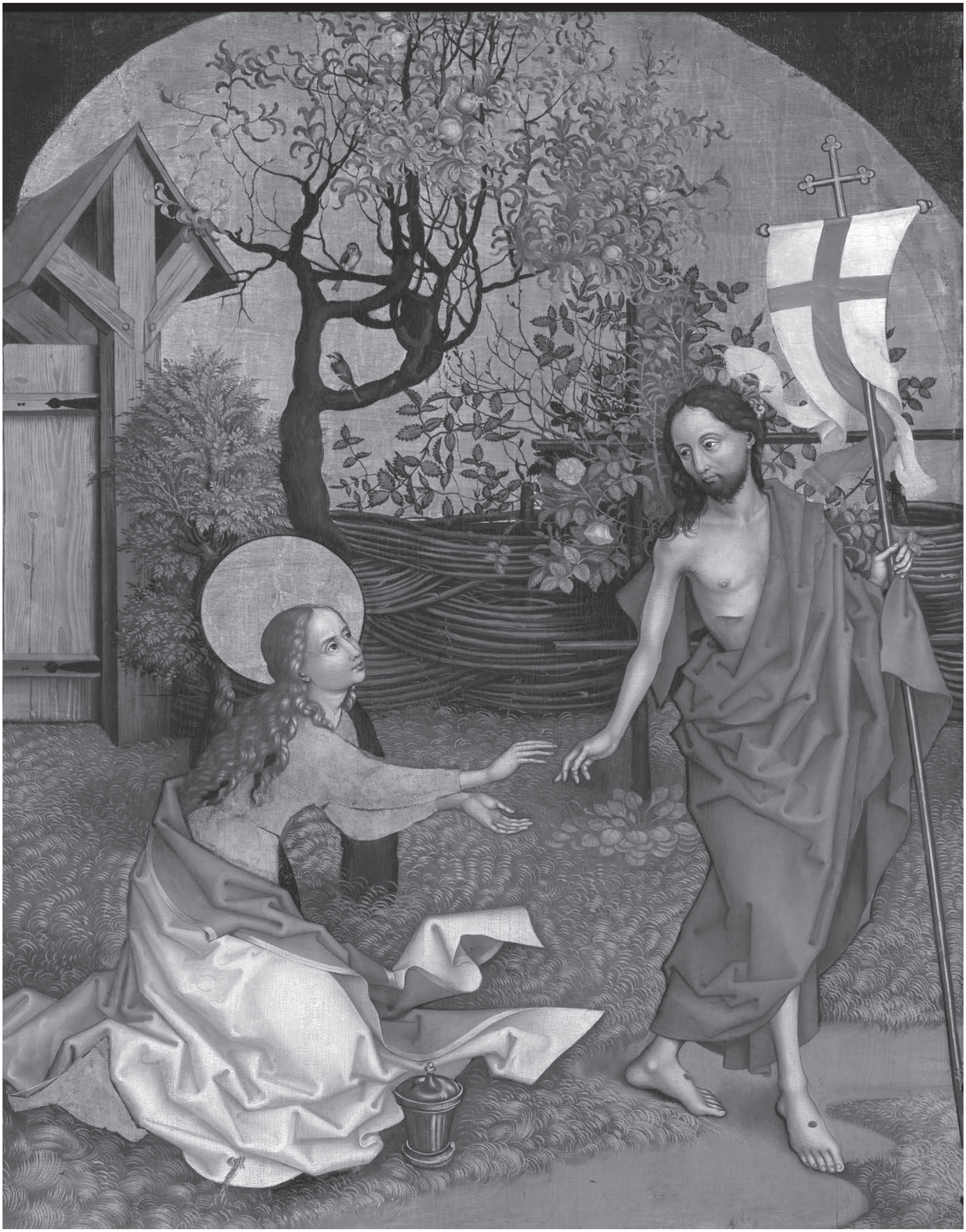

Figure 8.3. Martin Schongauer, *Noli me tangere*, Colmar, Musée d'Unterlinden. 1462–65. Photo Hugo Maertens, courtesy of the Musée d'Unterlinden.

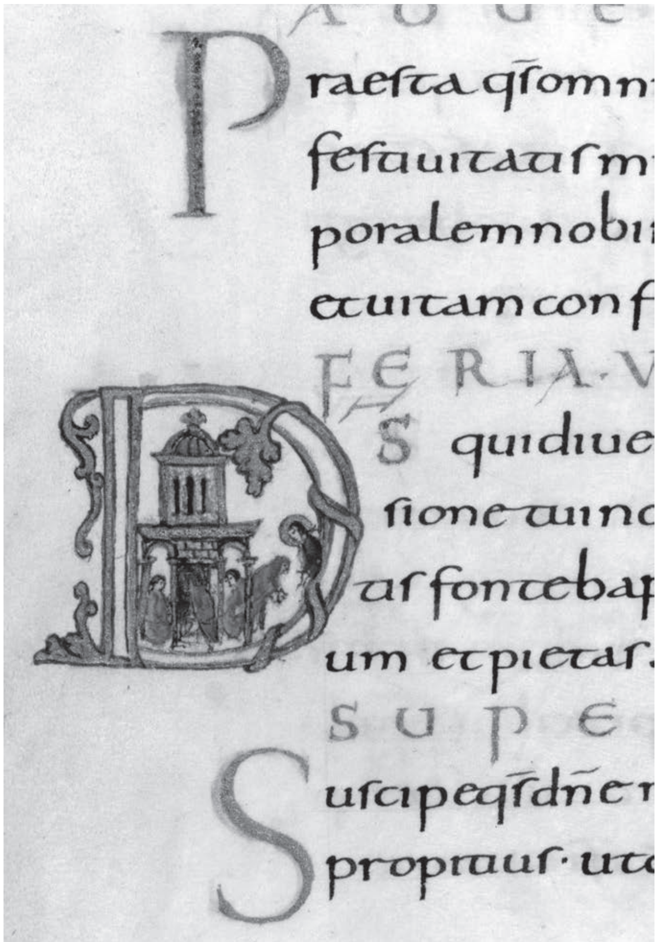

Figure 8.4. 'Mary at the tomb and *Noli me tangere*', Drogo Sacramentary, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 9428, fol. 63^{v}. *c.* 850. Photo courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France.

arm towards the angels in a gesture of supplication. A similar figure stands on the right side of the tomb, bowing down with both arms extended towards Christ. The two women stand back to back and seem to synchronize two phases in the Resurrection story: asking the angels about the body, on the one hand, and the encounter with Christ on the other. This division is highlighted by the position of the vines, which are a symbol of the garden and are intertwined with the decoration of the initial. They terminate at the top in a cluster that grows down into the scene and divides it between the Holy Sepulchre and the *Noli me tangere*. Although still on a decorative level here and separating the *Noli me tangere* from another scene, the motif of the tree would become a structural component in the *Noli me tangere* itself. The tree has a formal-compositional function of dividing narrative episodes or figures in the miniature. Positioned *between* Christ and Mary Magdalene, the tree seems, furthermore, to reinforce and maintain the prohibition of any contact between them. In the *Codex Falkenstein* and other examples, the tree follows the border between both bodies and so seems to mark the boundary between the earthly and the heavenly, and the irreducible distance between the two (Figure 8.2). The tree radically separates the bodies, its trunk *is* the boundary, the hands of Christ and of Mary Magdalene mutually separated by its bark.

The Tree as Allegorical Index: The Tree of Life and the Cross of Christ

From early Christian times onwards, the tree seldom appeared as a neutral motif in religious iconography. On a third allegorical level the tree in the garden evokes Paradise, with the Tree of Life and the Tree of Knowledge, and the heavenly Jerusalem in which the Tree of Life returns. In patristic literature the Cross of Christ was already considered a reference to both trees.[8] Ezekiel 31. 3–10 describes the Tree of Life as a cosmic tree, laden with countless fruit, in the navel (*omphalos/nucleus*) of the world. As axis of the world, or *axis mundi*, the tree supports time and space and is transferred by the early Church Fathers to Christ, the Messiah.[9] Clement of Alexandria (*c.* 150–215) says that the Tree of Life is *logos*: the word become flesh.[10] Andrew of Crete (660–750) argues that the Cross of Christ is, just like the Tree of Life, an *axis mundi*; both connect the four elements.[11] Based on a symmetrical relationship with the Tree of Life, an asymmetrical relationship with the Tree of Knowledge would also arise. Tertullian (*c.* 160–240), in his *Adversus Iudaeos*, formulates the opposition between

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[8] Baert, *Een erfenis van heilig hout*, pp. 215–68; in English as Baert, *A Heritage of Holy Wood*, trans. by Preedy, pp. 289–349. For a detailed study of the literary tradition of the *Arbor Crucis*, see Reno, *The Sacred Tree*, pp. 106–12. The annual restoration of the deciduous tree functioned as a primary analogy for the Resurrection.

[9] The *Arbor Crucis* functions as a symbol of a holy centre; its location on Golgotha unites the four cosmic dimensions, its height unites heaven and earth, and its girth the whole created world. Reno, *The Sacred Tree*, p. 185; for the cross as a marker, see pp. 129–30; for the cross as *omphalos/axis mundi*, see pp. 130–34, 153–54, 172–78. In early Christian writings pre-Christian cosmological symbols were given Christian meanings, and everything was given significance relative to the plan of salvation.

[10] Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata* V, II, 72, 2. Reno, *The Sacred Tree*, p. 106.

[11] This was supported by the fact that the material, shape, and dimensions of cross and tree were recognized as analogous; Reno, *The Sacred Tree*, pp. 161–64, 178–82.

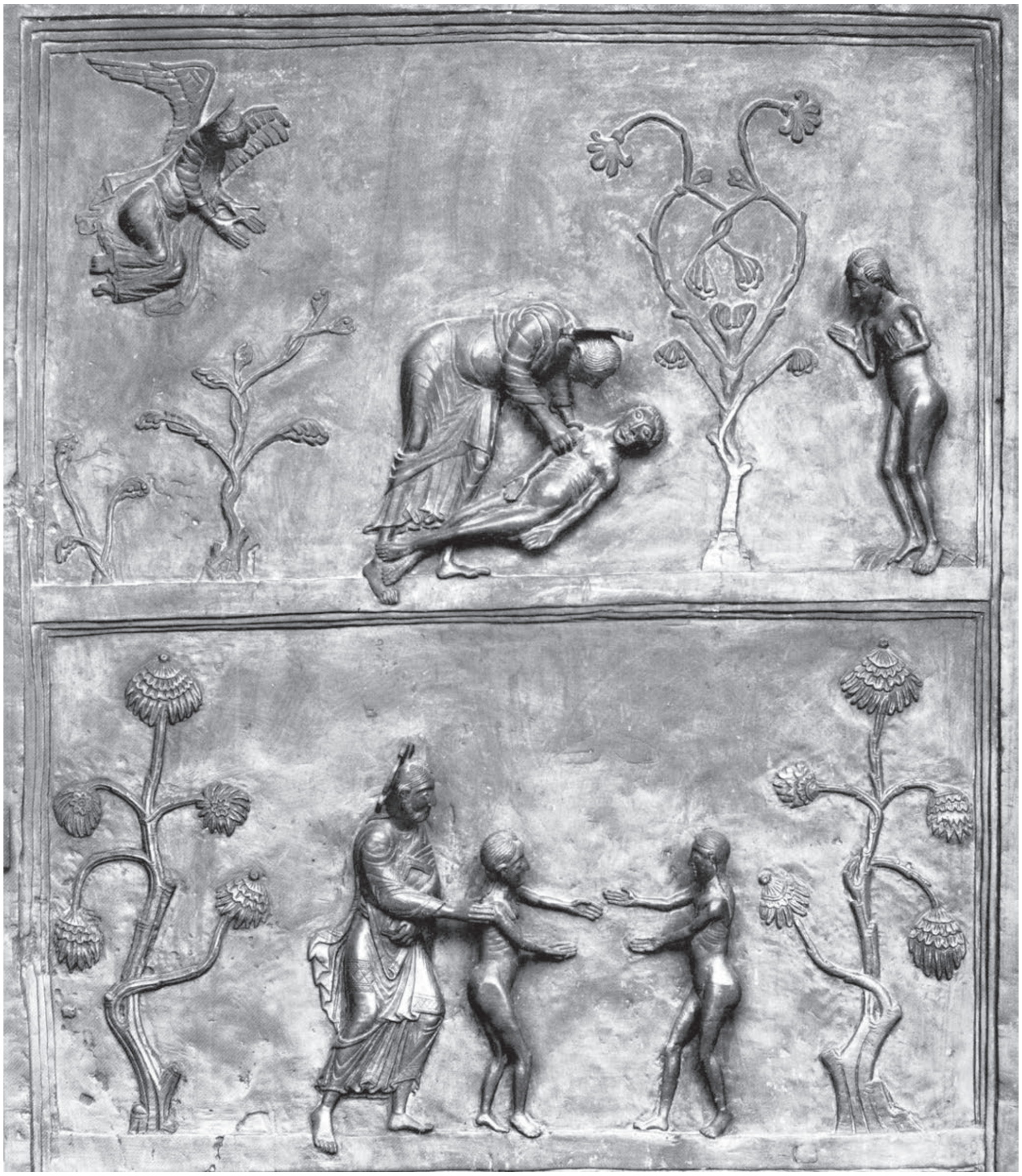

Figure 8.5.
'Creation of Eve panel on Left Wing of Bronze Doors commissioned by Bishop Bernward', Hildesheim, Abbey Church of Saint Michael. *c*. 1015. Reproduced with permission of the Dom-Museum, Hildesheim.

both trees as fundamental to salvation. He argues that what we have lost through Adam is regained through the wood of the Cross of Christ. As such, the *lignum* of the Cross must 'rewrite' the *lignum* of Genesis.[12]

The symbolic working backwards from the Cross of Christ to the Tree of Life was developed into a narrative progression from the Tree of Life to the Cross of Christ during the Middle Ages.[13] This tradition is known as the Legend of the Cross, the most widely known version of which is to be found in Jacobus de Voragine's *Legenda Aurea* (*c*. 1260). This legend recounts that when Adam was dying he sent his third son, Seth, to Paradise. There, Seth received three twigs of the Tree of Life from the Archangel Michael. Arriving back home and finding his father dead, he planted the twigs on his grave, where they grew into a beautiful tree, the tree that would later be used for the Cross of Christ.[14]

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[12] Baert and Kusters, 'The Twilight Zone of the *Noli me tangere*', p. 267. For the literary tradition of the *Lignum vitae*, see Reno, *The Sacred Tree*, pp. 164–72. See also Armstrong, 'The Cross in the Old Testament', p. 17; Höhler, *Die Bäume des Lebens*, p. 115; Leathers and Kuntz, 'The Symbol of the Tree'.

[13] Baert, *Een erfenis van heilig hout*, pp. 215–68 (Baert, *A Heritage of Holy Wood*, trans. by Preedy, pp. 289–349); Baert, 'Totten paradise soe sult ghi gaen', p. 21.

[14] Johannes Belethus (*Rationale divinorum officiorum*, 1170) gives the earliest account of Seth; he is cited as an authority by Jacobus de Voragine. Jacobus de Voragine, *Legenda Aurea*, ed. by

The role of the tree in human salvation and its significance as *Lignum vitae* is crucial for medieval imagery, from the Fall of Man in eating of the forbidden fruit of the Tree of Knowledge (turning it into the Tree of Death), to the salvation of man through Christ's death on the cross — made of wood from the Tree of Life — and to the tree in the new Paradise. As such, the motif of the tree embodies the whole history of mankind.[15]

In light of the peculiarity of this tree, it should be noted that the *Codex Egberti* also shows no ordinary tree (Figure 8.1). The tree transcends its naturalistic dimension: it is neither green nor brown, but almost immaterially rendered in shades of white, thereby referring to the clothing of the angels and of Christ. Where the *Noli me tangere* occurs in the shadow of the death of Christ and his Resurrection, its tree seems to be a direct reflection of the Crucifixion and Christ's approach to heavenly status. The suggestion of crosswise draped leaves reinforces the association with Christ and his death on the cross.[16] Furthermore, as the *Noli me tangere* scene took place near Golgotha, which was (once) Adam's burial place, there is a temporal and spatial reinforcement of the link. The *Noli me tangere* tree encompasses the full dimension of the *Lignum vitae*: from the Tree of Life through the Cross of Christ to the suggestion of the new tree in Paradise.[17]

The idea of the *Noli me tangere* as a preview of the heavenly paradise, and the motif of the tree as a symbol of the New Jerusalem, is shown with particular delicacy in the representation of the encounter between Christ and Mary Magdalene on one of the bronze doors commissioned by Bishop Bernward (933–1022) for the church of St Michael in Hildesheim (1008–15) (Figures 8.5 and 8.6).[18] The composition of *Noli me tangere* is dominated by Christ, who holds a banner in his left hand. One foot stands higher than the other, suggesting his subsequent ascent to the Father.[19] His right palm points towards Mary Magdalene. To the left is a bush-like tree; to the right of Christ there is an architectural structure and another bush. However, what seems to be the tomb is not the tomb, and the trees are not just trees. Suggestive of a city, this architectural image is probably not intended to represent the Holy Sepulchre. It would not only be on the wrong side of Christ, chronologically speaking,[20] but would also differ remarkably from the sepulchre shown in the previous scene of the Three Marys at the empty tomb. Instead, the architecture represented seems to refer to the place where Christ is going, the Heavenly Jerusalem. And the trees, too, hold a deeper meaning; they are actually grape-bearing vines, alluding to the sacrificial death of Christ and the liturgy of the Mass. There are eagles in the trees, which from Late Antiquity onwards were a symbol of victory,

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Graesse, pp. 303–11, 605–11; Jacobus de Voragine, *La Légende Dorée*, ed. by Dunn-Lardeau. For the legend, its literary ramifications, and further references, see Baert, 'Totten paradise soe sult ghi gaen', p. 21. Seth functions as mediator between the Tree of Life and the Cross and as a hinge in salvation history; the twig leaves Paradise in order to restore it on Golgotha. Baert, *Een erfenis van heilig hout*, pp. 233–54 (Baert, *A Heritage of Holy Wood*, trans. by Preedy, pp. 310–33). See also Baert, 'Hierotopy, Jerusalem and the Legend of the Wood of the Cross'.

[15] The connection between tree and cross was common currency in the Middle Ages, with particular elaboration in legends concerning the Holy Cross. A legend in Guelders, for instance, relates that a shepherd receiving communion at Easter of the year 1308 was unable to swallow the host, so removed it from his mouth and left it between the branches of a tree. The shepherd confessed his sacrilege to a priest, who went to retrieve the host from the tree; at that very moment, however, the host vanished into a cavity. Twenty-eight years later the Duke of Guelders gave the tree to the priest for firewood. But at the moment the tree is split a wooden crucifix suddenly appears. In this legend the tree, the host, and the crucifix are united. The host is first between the branches, like the body of Christ on the cross. Its disappearance into a cavity is then an image of the laying in the tomb, but from the 'wood of life' Christ ultimately rises again. Two fifteenth-century pilgrimage medals illustrate the legend, in the final scene showing the figure of Christ between the tree's branches. Iconographically, these medals are related to the tradition of representing Christ crucified on a tree, which became fashionable in Italy in the early fourteenth century and was promoted by the Franciscans. Baert, 'Totten paradise soe sult ghi gaen', p. 31 and n. 59; Koldeweij, *Heilig en Profaan*, p. 144. In Middle Dutch May carols Christ's wounds and the instruments of the Passion are compared at length with trees and plants. Oosterman, 'Ik breng u de mei', p. 177.

[16] The tripartite structure of the branches might also be a reference to the Holy Trinity.

[17] Genesis 2. 9 mentions both the Tree of Life and the Tree of Knowledge as growing in the middle of Paradise. According to the Syrian *Book of the Cave of Treasures*, the Tree of Life stood in the centre of Paradise and the Cross of Christ was erected in the middle of the cosmos: 'That Tree of Life which was in the midst of Paradise prefigured the Redeeming Cross which is in the middle of the earth'. Reno, *The Sacred Tree*, p. 145. In the *Book of Adam and Eve*, Adam instructs Seth to bury his body at the centre of the earth. Reno, *The Sacred Tree*, pp. 145–46.

[18] Schrade, 'Zu dem Noli me tangere der Hildesheimer Bronzetür'; Storm, *Die Bronzetüren Bernwards zu Hildesheim*; Mende, *Die Bronzetüren des Mittelalters*.

[19] Worm, 'Steine und Fußspuren Christi auf dem Ölberg'; Kusters, 'Sacrale topografie van de Olijfberg'.

[20] Reading, according to western convention, from left to right. Baert and Kusters, 'The Twilight Zone of the *Noli me tangere*', p. 276.

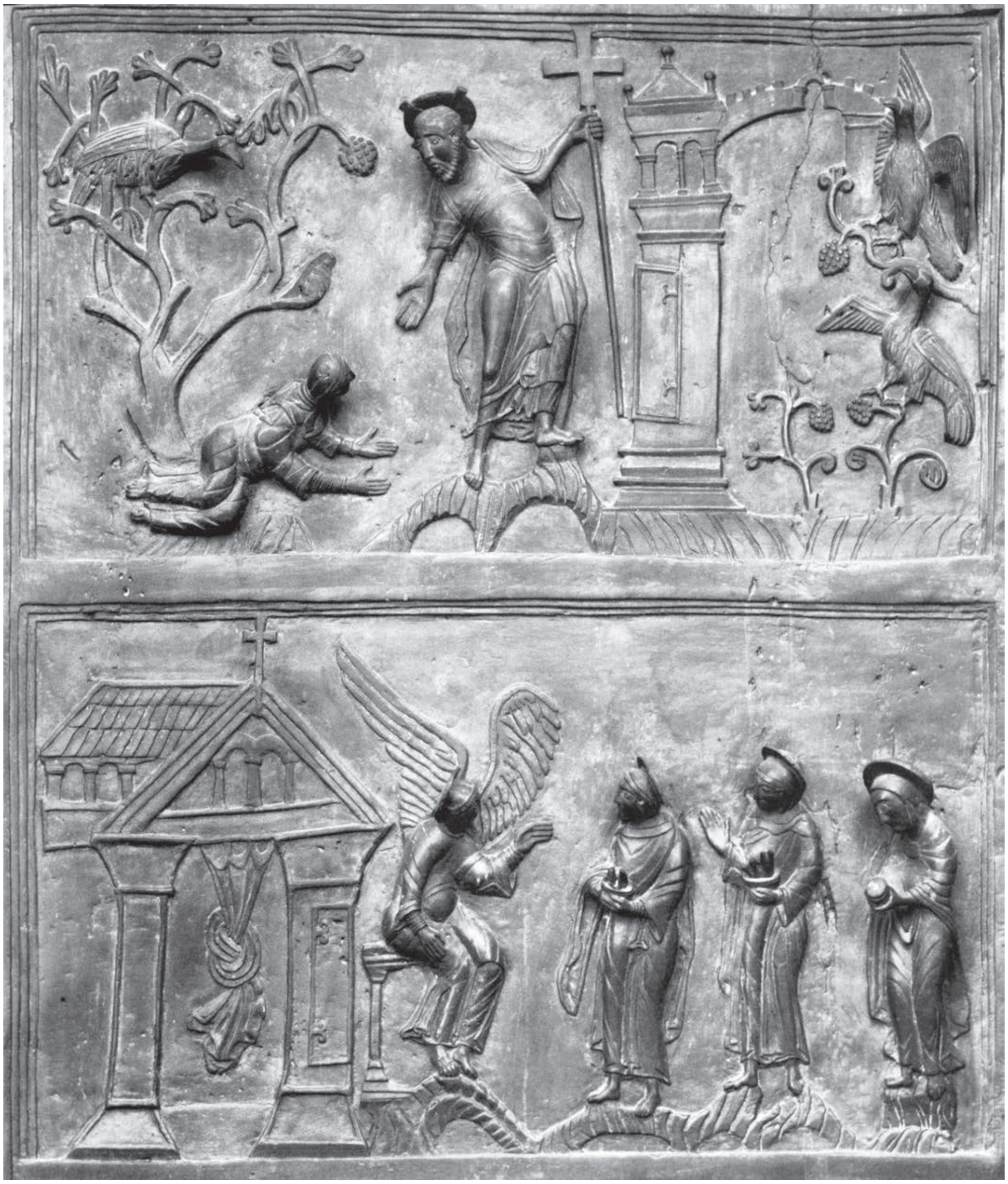

Figure 8.6.
'*Noli me tangere* panel on Right Wing of Bronze Doors commissioned by Bishop Bernward', Hildesheim, Abbey Church of Saint Michael. *c.* 1015. Reproduced with permission of the Dom-Museum, Hildesheim.

apotheosis, and the Ascension.[21] The eagle on Mary Magdalene's side of the scene is passive, symbolizing her earthly latency; the eagle on Christ's side is active, suggesting his heavenward journey. In this way the *Noli me tangere* brings to mind not only Christ's death on the cross, but also the promise of salvation, with the coming of a new, heavenly Paradise.

Mary Magdalene as the New Eve

The intersecting 'Tree of Life – Cross of Christ – new tree in Paradise', as it relates to Mary Magdalene, highlights and supports her connection to Eve. Again, this was a typological connection already recognized by the Fathers of the Church.

Ambrose of Milan (d. 397), in his *Expositio evangelii secundum Lucam*, states that Mary is prohibited from touching Christ because, at that moment, she does not possess the capacity to comprehend Christ in his resurrected and divine form. He compares the Mary of John 20 with Eve, the woman who committed the first sin; hence, the first person to see the resurrected Christ will also be a woman.[22] Jerome (*c.* 342–420) states in his *Epistle* 120 and in his *Homilia in Johannem evangelistam* that Christ prohibits touch on account of her imperfect faith, which is demonstrated by the fact that she is still searching for his body.[23] And Augustine (354–430) also explains *Noli me tangere* in his *Sermo* 246 and *Letter* 120 as the transition from faith in Christ the man to faith in Christ as God.[24] In his *Sermo* 229L, he explores the theme of the Fall and the weaker sex: a woman was the first to sin against God in Paradise and is thus the first to seek Him with greater desire after his death. According to Augustine, Christ appeared first to a woman because it was through a woman that death entered the world.[25] Petrus Chrysologus (d. *c.* 450) expresses this typology as follows (*Sermo* 74:3 and *Sermo* 77:4.7): the Tree of Knowledge aroused Eve's desire, while the tomb of Christ aroused the desire of Mary Magdalene, thus formulating the connection between the tree and the Holy Sepulchre — between Eve and Mary Magdalene — quite literally. The same author says of the Marys in Luke 24. 10 and their being sent to the apostles that they personify the Church and the bride of Christ. Hippolytus of Rome (*c.* 170–236) calls Mary Magdalene the *apostola apostolorum*, sent by Christ himself to restore Eve. Mary Magdalene is Ecclesia, harbinger of salvation: she is identified with the New Eve.[26]

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[21] The eagle also appears in this sense in scenes of the Ascension, as in an ivory, known as the *Von Reider Tablet*, made in northern Italy around the year 400 (Munich, Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, inv. no. MA 157). Kusters, 'Sacrale topografie van de Olijfberg', p. 118, ill. 2. The eagle is a creature of the sun; Lurker, 'Adler', pp. 6–7.

On the authority of Augustine, medieval and early modern exegesis accepts that *Noli me tangere* is an explicit statement of the transformation of belief in Christ as a human being into belief in Christ as God. This was also elaborated in an influential sermon attributed to Odo of Cluny (*c.* 923–34) and known as the *Sermo in veneratione Maria Magdalenae*. Following Gregory's merging of Mary Magdalene as Resurrection witness with the sinful woman of Luke 7. 36–50, this was a critical phase in the new 'personality formation' of Mary Magdalene.[27] The sermon was read on 22 July, the Feast of Mary Magdalene, and influenced hymns,[28] canticles, and dramaturgical rites such as the trope *Quem queritis in sepulchro, o Christicole* (Who do you seek in the grave, O followers of Christ?).[29] Its central theme is that of the transformation of sin into perfection and redemption. The connection between the sinner and the witness to the Resurrection that arose with Gregory the Great was now elaborated in all its implications. In the injunction against touch, she recognizes the assimilation of Father and Son and becomes the first proclaimer of the Church. Her remorse is the necessary precondition for revolution in the history of salvation after the Fall. According to this influential sermon, *Noli me tangere* is thus the ultimate goal of revelation, of insight, attained by means of penitence and remorse.[30]

The typological connection between Mary Magdalene and Eve and the meaning of the *Noli me tangere* as redemption from the Fall and insight into salvation history is visualized remarkably coherently in the iconographic programme of the bronze doors of Hildesheim, in which the representation of the *Noli me tangere* presents its chronological impact not only progressively but also regressively (Figures 8.5 and 8.6). This iconographic programme is often considered a textbook example of medieval typology. In this typology, meaning is generated by the comparison of events from the Old Testament with events from the New.[31] Thus, a system of salvation history was developed that viewed the Old as foreshadowing the New, as a seed which only germinated with the arrival of Christ. Elaborated by patristic writers, in the twelfth century this approach would permeate most literary genres and be given visual expression. The programme of the Hildesheim doors is a prime example of this style of reasoning. Eight scenes from the New Testament run from bottom to top on the right door, and an equal number of scenes from the Old Testament on the left, arranged from top to bottom. In this way one is able to read scenes from Genesis to the Resurrection diachronically, following a U-shaped scheme, and typologically, from left to right, from Old to New, each direction of reading provided a different insight into God's divine plan of salvation.[32] *Noli me tangere* is the last episode taken from biblical history and is located in the upper register of the right door. The scene is contrasted with the first of the cycle at the upper left: the Creation of Eve (Figures 8.5 and 8.6). This *Noli me tangere* is concerned with Christ's departure and Mary Magdalene's need to find the strength to let him go. The power and the insight that came with it were, according to the *Sermo of Cluny*, awakened by the three words that underlie this particular image. As such, and with Mary Magdalene as *Eva nova* (and Christ as *Adam novus*), the *Noli me tangere* celebrates the completion of salvation history, interpreted moreover in the light of female protagonism and insight.[33]

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[22] Ambrose of Milan, *Expositio Evangelii secundum Lucam*, ed. by Adriaen, pp. 383–400.

[23] Baert and Kusters, 'The Twilight Zone of the *Noli me tangere*', p. 260.

[24] Augustine, *Letters 100–155*, trans. by Teske, ed. by Ramsey, pp. 129–40 (p. 137). See also Soennecken, *Misogynie oder Philogynie?*. Paulinus of Nola (355–431) adopts the same line of reasoning in one of his letters: Letter 50 in Paulinus of Nola, *Epistulae*, trans. by Skeb, cols 1042–75 (col. 1067); Paulinus of Nola, *Letters*, trans. by Walsh, II: *Letters 23–51* (1967), pp. 287–88.

[25] Baert and Kusters, 'The Twilight Zone of the *Noli me tangere*', pp. 259–60.

[26] Hippolytus of Rome, *Traités d'Hippolyte sur David et Goliath*, ed. by Garitte, pp. 45–49. See also Saxer, 'Marie Madeleine'. Preaching also recognized a typology between Mary Magdalene and Eve; Gregory the Great states in a sermon that, just as a woman brought death to a man in Paradise, it was a woman who proclaimed life to men. From a manuscript of sermons of Gregory the Great dated 1473: Brussels, Konigkl. Bib., Cod. 1173–74, fol. 43^v. On this, see Rossano, 'Die Deutschen und Niederländischen Bearbeitungen der Pseudo-Origenes-Magdalenenklage'.

[27] *Sermo in Veneratione Sanctae Mariae Magdalenae*, in *PL*, ed. by Migne, cols 713–21; Iogna-Prat, '"Bienheureuse polysémie"'; Iogna-Prat, 'La Madeleine du "Sermo in veneratione sanctae Mariae Magdalenae"'; Saxer, 'Un manuscrit décembré'.

[28] Szövérffy, 'Peccatrix Quondam Femina'. The earliest hymns arose in the tenth and eleventh centuries in Burgundy, Bourges, and southern Germany.

[29] Known from a Limoges manuscript dating from *c.* 923–34. The version in its original form occurs in a manuscript in the Abbey Library of Saint Gall dating to the middle of the tenth century; Young, *The Drama of the Medieval Church*, pp. 204–05.

[30] Iogna-Prat, 'La Madeleine du "Sermo in veneratione sanctae Mariae Magdalenae"', p. 56.

[31] Standard literature on typology includes Earl, 'Typology and Iconographic Style'; Sutherland, 'Theological Notes on the Origin of Types'; Kretzenbacher, *Wortbegründetes Typologie*.

The *Codex Egberti* (Figure 8.1) and the Hildesheim doors (Figures 8.5 and 8.6) demonstrate how the *Noli me tangere*, from the early examples in the visual arts onwards, must be interpreted not only against the background of the historical Jerusalem of the empty tomb, but also against the background of a symbolized Jerusalem (the tree, the eagles, the gate, the mountain) where Son and Father are reunited. As a result, the narrative place of the *Noli me tangere* is the location where salvation history forms a perfect circle: the coming of the Son of God and the return of the Son to the Father. The *Noli me tangere* could therefore be seen as the accomplishment of creation and fulfilment of the Incarnation. In fact, the connection to the incarnation was understood and recognized in commentaries on John 3. 13: 'No one has ascended into heaven, except the one who descended from heaven, the Son of Man who is in heaven'.[34] The idea of the Ascension, the return to the Father to finalize the Incarnation, is moreover clearly included in the text and image of the *Noli me tangere*: 'I am ascending to my Father' (John 20. 17b). The miniature in the *Codex Egberti* (Figure 8.1) shows Christ with a book in his left hand; He is the *Logos*, the Word that has become flesh.

We have already studied the significance of *Noli me tangere* in the spatial meaning of Jerusalem and its place in medieval salvation history.[35] In 1160 John of Würzburg refers to the *omphalos* near the Holy Sepulchre as the exact physical location marked in the pavement with two circles, where 'after the Resurrection the Lord is said to have appeared to Blessed Mary Magdalene, and the place is much venerated'.[36] According to this pilgrim, it is the same place where Joseph of Arimathea washed the body of Christ, and where Christ descended into hell. *Noli me tangere* embodies a vertical movement, a spatial navel where the creation of the word and the flesh connect. This was often emphasized not only by the body language of the ascending Christ but also by the central tree.

The significance of the tree as a place of transit between the earthly and the heavenly seems to be reinforced by the way it is represented. Before the fifteenth century, the *Noli me tangere* tree is seldom a realistic portrayal of a tree and still less a recognizable species.[37]

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[32] Clearly explained in Tronzo, 'The Hildesheim Doors'.

[33] There is more on the antithetical position of Eve in Guldan, *Eva und Maria*, pp. 13–20.

[34] In the Ottonian *Codex Aureus*, from Nuremberg, this was paraphrased in the context of the Ascension passage into 'God has received this man to himself, whom he had taken from the Virgin'. Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, MS 156142/ KG 1136, fol. 112r. Deshman, 'Another Look at the Disappearing Christ', p. 523, n. 25.

[35] Baert, '*Noli me tangere* and Narrative Space' and Baert, 'Noli me tangere'.

[36] Wilkinson, *Jerusalem Pilgrimage, 1099–1185*, p. 244.

[37] This also makes it harder to determine whether the type of tree reinforces the typological connections of the *Noli me tangere* scene, and whether, for instance, in a combined scene of the *Noli me tangere* with the Creation of Eve the same tree is represented. In the representation of both scenes on the Hildesheim doors, at least, the two trees are clearly different. Is it possible that even this has been a conscious choice? After all, the *Noli me tangere* tree alludes to the Tree of Life, while Eve ate from the Tree of Knowledge (Tree of Death), making it desirable to distinguish between the two. There is, furthermore, no agreement in the literary tradition identifying the genus of the Tree of Life or the Tree of Knowledge; the Tree of Knowledge is often taken to be a fig tree, the Tree of Life a palm tree or a vine, but identification can vary: Reno, *The Sacred Tree*, p. 159. For further discussion of the genus of the Tree of Life and the Tree of Knowledge, see the article in this volume by Ute Dercks, 'Two Trees in Paradise? A Case Study on the Iconography of the Tree of Knowledge and the Tree of Life in Italian Romanesque Sculpture'. Katherine Rondou indicates that in modern literature there is a tradition linking Mary Magdalene and the fig tree, as a symbol of female sexuality and prostitution and her

Not only does the tree appear in all colours and sizes — including vine, shrub, and topiary — it is often shown as an abstract and sublimated tree. We have already indicated that the tree in the Egbert Codex is far more than a naturalistically rendered tree; it is neither green nor brown, but white and somewhat rarified, taking on the same colour as the burial shrouds and the clothing of the risen Christ (Figure 8.1). Sublimated, the tree's whiteness and its reference to the cross link it to the visualization of a larger plan of salvation: revealing Christ's divine nature in the restoration of his human nature after death.

The *Noli me tangere* was, as we have seen, considered an explicit statement of this transformation. It expressed Mary Magdalene's gradual understanding and transition from belief in Jesus the man to belief in Christ as God. The *Noli me tangere* points to this transfiguration and shows Christ's different manifestations. First Mary Magdalene seeks Christ's corpse and *sees* a gardener, whom she does not individualize: he is everyone and he is us at the same time. In being addressed she *recognizes* her master, the man from her past who had died on the cross, and the anonymous gardener is transformed into the body of Christ, which leads to a spontaneous desire to touch him. When she is prevented from physically touching him, she comprehends Christ's Resurrection and his divine status. In the prohibition of touch, Mary Magdalene comes to understand his death on a cross, gaining insight into his divine nature. In the *Noli me tangere* she learns that Christ's body died on the cross but that his divinity transcends death. As a result of his death on the cross, his divine nature has transformed human nature.

This gradual enlightenment through a correct understanding of the death on the cross is shown clearly but with great delicacy in the Egbert Codex, in the link shroud – tree/cross – risen Christ. As three motifs tied to Christ's appearance they are linked not only through colour but also compositionally, being on one line from left to right. Central to the composition and in the exact centre between shrouds and risen Christ stands the tree/cross. Christ's approaching departure to heaven is again suggested by the fact that He stands a little higher than Mary Magdalene. But despite this difference in level and the prohibition to touch Him, Mary Magdalene is linked to Christ by the tree, standing behind her but visually emerging from her. The tree's reference to the cross visualizes not only the literal transformation of the earthly Christ (shrouds) to the risen Christ, but also Mary's understanding of it; it is in coming to a profound understanding of Christ's death on the cross that Mary Magdalene also gains insight into the transition from Christ's physical to his divine manifestation.[38]

Reminiscent of the cross and symbolically linking earth and heaven — rooted in the earth and towering skywards — there is perhaps no better symbol to support the visualization of Christ's Resurrection. The tree is the *axis mundi* and also seems to be implanted in the *Noli me tangere* motif with this meaning.[39] It visualizes the transition from the earthly to the heavenly for both Christ and Mary Magdalene: for Christ who through the cross steps from the earthly to the divine, and for Mary who by understanding the cross gains insight into the divine.[40]

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connection with Eve. We have not, however, found any explicit precedents for this in medieval contexts. Rondou, 'Le Figuier, quatrième emblème Magdalénien'. The crosswise draped leaves of the *Noli me tangere* scene in the Egbert Codex could also be read as a reference to the fig leaves which Adam and Eve sewed together to cover their nakedness. Genesis 3. 7: 'they sewed fig leaves together and made loincloths for themselves'. With thanks to Karlijn Demasure for this suggestion. In the context of the *Noli me tangere* as completion of the Incarnation it is also interesting to note that scenes of the Annunciation also often include allusions to the Tree of Life. In the oldest representations of the Annunciation the angel makes his declaration with a twig in his hand, or with the Tree of Life in the background. On the remains of an altarpiece from 1460–70 in the National Museum in Warsaw the angel holds a tree. We have not, however, found any cycles that combine the Annunciation and the *Noli me tangere* in this context or in which both scenes clearly contain the same tree. Baert, 'Kruis-houtboom', p. 111; Baert, *Een erfenis van heilig hout*, p. 240, n. 116 (Baert, *A Heritage of Holy Wood*, trans. by Preedy, p. 318, n. 117).

[38] It might be possible to discern a convention by which the symmetrical position of the angels near the grave echoes the decoration on the Ark of the Covenant residing in the Holy of Holies. I thank Anastasia Keshman for this suggestion.

[39] The tree as *axis mundi* is an archetype found in various religious traditions. Trees provide a common location for contact with the divine and often function in a general sense as the place where the divine reveals itself or as a sort of cosmic ladder. For the tree as *axis mundi*, or *omphalos*, see Reno, *The Sacred Tree*, pp. 84–88. For a discussion of the tree as *axis mundi* in the Franciscan Convent of Santa Croce in Firenze, see Ulrike Ilg, '*Quasi lignum vitae*: The Tree of Life as an Image of Mendicant Identity', in this volume. For more general information on the *axis mundi*, see Eliade, *The Sacred and the Profane*; Eliade, *Images and Symbols*. Eliade defines a place as an *axis mundi* according to four criteria: '1. a sacred place constitutes a break in the homogeneity of space — 2. this break is symbolized by an opening by which passage from one cosmic region to another is made possible — 3. communication with heaven is expressed by one or another of certain images, all of which refer to the *axis mundi*: pillar, mountain, tree, vine — 4. around this cosmic axis lies the world, hence the axis is located "in the middle", at the "navel of the earth"; it is the Center of the World'. Eliade, *The Sacred and the Profane*, p. 37.

[40] Perhaps the *Noli me tangere* tree need not be any specific tree; grafted onto the Tree of Life, this tree rather embodies, in Christ's death and redemption, the new tree of the new Paradise.

In its linking of heaven and earth, does the tree assist in visualizing that the *Noli me tangere* prohibits but at the same time stands for 'touching' (insight into) the divine? Is it a precursor of the 'touch' that ultimately will take place? Does it already visualize the sublimation of the forbidden tactile connection at a higher level? It is in any case remarkable that the tree's function as a boundary between Christ and Mary Magdalene often coincides exactly with the zone between their two pairs of hands. Although the tree in the *Codex Falkenstein*'s *Noli me tangere* separates Christ and Mary Magdalene quite clearly, stopping their hands at the bark on its trunk, it also visually unites them (Figure 8.2). While on a first, literal reading the motif of the tree seems to support the boundary and the tactile prohibition of *Noli me tangere*, at a second, symbolic reading it is a precursor of the sublimated touch that the *Noli me tangere* generates; the tree in other words illustrates what is happening at that moment of the scene being depicted. The fluidity of the almost-touch finds stability in the tree, its trunk visualizing Mary's gradual insight into the divine.

The tree as metaphor of ascent and insight has been elaborated by Christian authors in the early Christian and medieval period. *De pascha*, one of the older Christian poems (fourth century), ascribed to St Cyprian, connects the Tree of Life, the Tree of the Cross, and the cosmic tree.[41] The first to be described is the Tree of Life in Paradise, which is chopped down except for one shoot from which it is replanted. The new tree produces a fruit that continues to grow on the Tree of the Cross. Once ripe, the fruit falls to the earth, and from it grows a tree of cosmic dimensions. The author furthermore says that the cosmic tree is a ladder for the soul; the soul can use the tree to climb to heaven and blessedness.[42] Ignatius of Antioch (d. *c.* 110) in his *Letter to the Trallians* almost in passing refers to good Christians, in the context of the *Arbor Crucis*, as 'branches of the cross'.[43] Here the tree symbolizes the connection between Christ and his Church. The motif of the tree as a medium of insight into the divine carries over into many legends.[44] The foundation legend of the Holy Cross Church in Asse (Belgium) tells how a peasant intended to chop down a tree with an axe, when a great light went forth from it and the crucified Christ appeared. The tree brought fertility to the fields.[45]

In the *Noli me tangere*, Mary Magdalene's growing insight is emphasized by her body language. John says that she turned around twice, a first time from the tomb to the gardener, a second time from the tomb to Christ. It is with the second, definitive turn away from the tomb that Mary Magdalene takes a definite direction and orients herself towards understanding the divine. The

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[41] The three trees are united as *omphalos*; Baert, 'Kruis-hout-boom', pp. 110–11; Reno, *The Sacred Tree*, pp. 149–54. Cyprian, *Opera*, ed. by Hartel, p. 305; Pseudo-Tertullian, *De ligno vitae*, col. 1113. Hippolytus (mid-third century) in an Easter homily also identifies the cross as cosmic tree and ladder; Jacob of Serugh (451–521) projects the Logos of the Cross onto the Ladder of Jacob. Baert, 'Kruis-hout-boom', n. 46.

[42] For the motif of the tree as ladder, see Reno, *The Sacred Tree*, pp. 90–91, 155–60. Hadewijch's first vision, analogously with Bernard, also describes the Tree of Life as having three levels. The first level is that of the earthly paradise with the material tree; this level belongs to the past as humans were banished from Paradise at the Fall. The second level is the spiritual paradise, the Church, founded and inhabited by Christ; the Tree of Life is here the human Christ. The third level is the heavenly paradise; the Tree of Life is here Christ in his divine aspect. The Tree of Life therefore unites Christ's two natures; the Tree of Life *is* Christ, as man in the midst of the spiritual paradise, as God in the midst of the heavenly paradise. Climbing the tree was a metaphor for gaining insight into the divine and losing oneself in God's love. This is however an *arbor inversa*, the downwards-growing tree with branches of faith and hope, the trunk love, and roots anchored in the godhead. In the *Spiritual Espousals* of Jan van Ruusbroec (1293–1381) an *arbor inversa* also provides the transition from a spiritual life to a specifically mystical life. In both Hadewijch and Ruusbroec climbing the tree implies gaining insight into Christ's human and divine guise and ultimately to encounter Him. Faesen, 'Een boem die hadde wortele op wert ende den tsop neder wert'.

[43] *The Apostolic Fathers*, trans. by Lake, I: *The Apostolic Fathers. Pope Clement I, Saint Ignatius (Bishop of Antioch), Saint Polycarp (Bishop of Smyrna)* (1912), p. 223. Greek text with French translation by Thomas Camelot. Ignatius of Antioch and Polycarpe of Smyrna, *Lettres, Martyre de Polycarpe*, trans. by Camelot, p. 103. See Reno, *The Sacred Tree*, pp. 115–16.

[44] Thomas of Cantimpré (d. 1263/72) says of Christina the Astonishing (d. 1124), a native of Saint-Truiden, that she had the habit of taking refuge in high places — such as trees — and that she lived in the tops of trees like the birds. The roof of foliage was generally considered a place inaccessible to human beings; the bird was an image of the regaining of grace. Heene, 'De symbolische betekenis en de materiële functie van bomen', p. 108. Shamans and the heroes of fairy tales also climb trees to gain the heaven of wisdom; Baert, 'Kruis-hout-boom', pp. 110–11.

[45] According to the old natural magic 'light' — that is, the soul — escapes from a felled tree. The felling of trees was also held sacred by pagans and was linked to divine insight. The *Vita Amandi episcopi* recounts how St Amandus was troubled by a blind woman who was terribly devoted to a particular oak tree. When the Bishop felled the tree, the woman was healed. Her blindness cannot be a coincidental motive. Baert, 'Kruis-hout-boom', pp. 115–16. Analogously, in the *Vita Theodulfi* a pilgrim is punished with blindness for cutting down a tree which sprouted from the saint's staff. Heene, 'De symbolische betekenis en de materiële functie van bomen', n. 74 and n. 101.

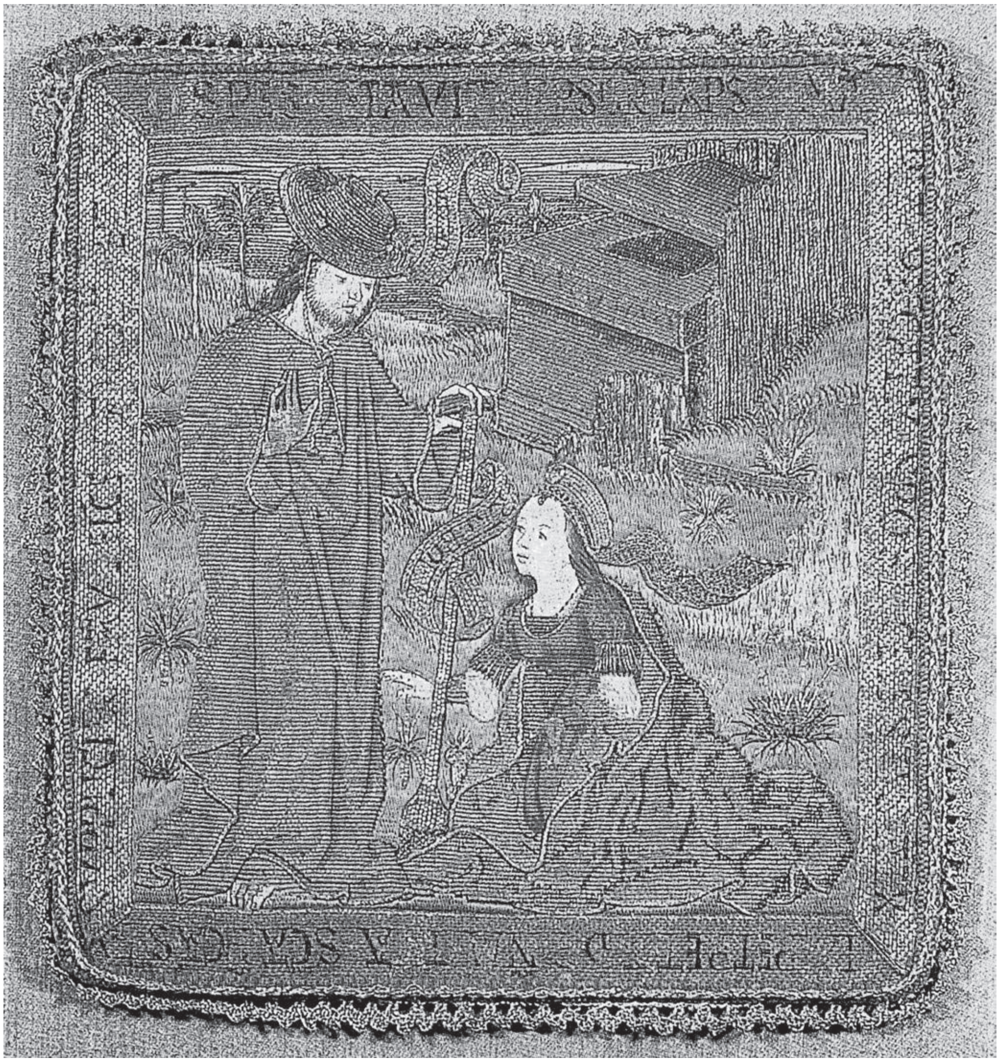

Figure 8.7.
'*Noli me tangere*, chalice pall', Antwerp, Museum Mayer van den Bergh, inv. nr. 975. *c.* 1525. Photo Michel Wuyts, courtesy of the Museum Mayer van den Bergh, Antwerp.

dorsal position of Mary Magdalene towards the sepulchre marks the tomb as an element to forget, to negate, to turn your back on, in favour of what is to come: the moment of recognition. We have called this the iconic turn.[46] In our western way of reading left to right this implies that the tomb be shown on the left, the risen Christ on the right, and Mary Magdalene between the two, as in the Egbert miniature (Figure 8.1). Her body and its turn are the axis, the hinge in the transition from the bodily to the divine. In the Egbert miniature Mary Magdalene turns on the trunk of the tree.

It is remarkable that in some representations of the *Noli me tangere*, as in the fifteenth-century anonymous panel and on an embroidered chalice pall from around 1525 (Figure 8.7), the positions of Christ and Mary Magdalene are reversed.[47] This has implications for the way the image is experienced; when the positions are inverted, the eye stops on the figure of Mary Magdalene. Lisa Marie Rafanelli surmises that this was a deliberate move to shift the visual emphasis: the viewer now concentrates on Mary Magdalene and on her perspective of the interaction.[48] Here it is more about Christ's appearance to Mary Magdalene than about his Resurrection; her 'seeing' him is essential, more so than his departure to the Father.

Not necessarily linked to this 'reversed' positioning — the reversal of the positions of the figures did happen earlier — but certainly informed by the emphasis on

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[46] Baert, '*Noli me tangere* and Narrative Space' and Baert, 'Noli me tangere'.

[47] In a few cases, as with the chalice pall, this reversal can also be due to the techniques used, but this is not true of most cases.

[48] Rafanelli, 'The Ambiguity of Touch', pp. 205–08. See also Rafanelli, 'Seeking Truth and Bearing Witness'.

Mary Magdalene's perception, the area north of the Alps in the fifteenth century saw a trend to portraying Christ as *Christus hortulanus*.[49] The representation on the chalice pall is part of this tradition; Christ is here not shown in his most usual form as the risen, with a traditional white robe and a triumphal cross, but garbed as a typical gardener, in a long brown tunic and hat, and with a spade in his hand.[50] Towards the end of the Middle Ages, under the influence of Humanist and Renaissance ideas, there was a shift from the risen Christ to the human Christ.[51] While strictly speaking at the level of the Christ-gardener there was not yet any prohibition of touching and one might expect this to match the 'reversed' *Noli me tangere* — Christ appearing to Mary Magdalene in his first manifestation — we nevertheless see elisions of different moments and manifestations arising in the iconography of the *Noli me tangere*; Christ appears as gardener to Mary Magdalene's left, while the play of hands suggests an almost-touch, or He moves away to the right, in a white garment and with clearly visible wounds, but carrying a spade (Figure 8.7).[52]

With the shift in perspective from the risen Christ to Mary Magdalene's perception of the event, the first question is whether this accompanied a shift in context. Does the allusion to the heavenly decrease in favour of representing Mary Magdalene's 'earthly' context and a realistic refinement of the garden in which she finds herself? We shall indeed see that more detail is introduced, in two distinct ways: in the representation of the dry tree, and in that of the flowering garden.

The Dry Tree

The increasing secularization of the *Noli me tangere* responds to a general fifteenth-century growth in interest in Mary Magdalene's exemplary and intermediary role. Mary Magdalene was not only the first witness to the Resurrection, she was also a worldly beauty, harlot, penitent, and missionary, and an *intima* of Christ. In her conversion from worldly to spiritual love she is the embodiment of a prototypical woman who by example is able to direct others on the way to salvation. In the Low Countries, innumerable prayers and sermons emphasize the relationship between Mary Magdalene and her sinful past from the perspective of this mediatory role. A Middle Dutch prayer from 1504, currently preserved in the Rijksuniversiteit in Ghent, paraphrases a prayer by Anselm of Canterbury (1033–1109), with Mary Magdalene rising from the 'karker der sonden' (dungeon of sins) to become 'gheminde vriendinne gods' (beloved friend of God).[53] The imperfect medieval individual, religious or secular, can identify with Mary Magdalene, as a mediatrix. She voices the hope that, however black one's sins, one can be forgiven by Christ. A prayer in a fifteenth-century prayer book, now in the Abbey of Park, calls Mary Magdalene 'one of the worthy [female] friends of our dear Lord' and stimulates the (female) reader likewise to become a friend of Mary Magdalene, to unite herself with her, and thus to become a friend of Christ.[54] The gradual dawning of Mary Magdalene's understanding provides a model for this and encourages the reader to follow in her footsteps and to take her as guide along the path of meditation – contemplation – union.[55]

Within this stimulus to identification, the growing interest in Mary Magdalene's life of sin and the 'humanizing' of Christ in the *Christus hortulamus* led to a new type of Mary Magdalene in the fifteenth-century *Noli me tangere* north of the Alps: a secularized, worldly Mary Magdalene.[56] An altarpiece from the church of St

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[49] Baert, 'The Gaze in the Garden'.

[50] As a pall (the temporary cover for a chalice), which meant a connection to the Eucharist and the miracle of transubstantiation ('This is my body'), the piece of textile emphasizes Christ's human nature iconographically as well. Baert, 'The Gaze in the Garden', p. 29; Baert and others, *Noli me tangere*, pp. 60–61.

[51] The 'human' Christ could be either the gardener or 'Rabbouni'; in the banderol on the chalice pall Christ is also addressed as 'Rabbouni'.

[52] According to some authors, the merging of different elements could have taken place due to the influence of the theatre; the *Noli me tangere* was included in Passion plays, where Christ's disguise formed an important dramatic element. Baert, 'The Gaze in the Garden', p. 29; Collins, *The Production of Medieval Church Music-Drama*, p. 63; Rafanelli, 'The Ambiguity of Touch', p. 161. There is reference to dialogues in the medieval plays in which Christ tests Mary Magdelene's faith by appearing to her 'in disguise'. Chauvin, 'The Role of Mary Magdalene in Medieval Drama', p. 142; Garth, *Saint Mary Magdalene*, p. 69; Young, *The Drama of the Medieval Church*.

[53] Ghent, Rijksuniversiteit, Cod. 209, fol. 246^r; Baert, 'The Gaze in the Garden', p. 33; Rossano, 'Met eender fonteynen der tranen', p. 6 and 13.

[54] 'Een vander werdighen vrindinnen ons liefs heren': Baert and others, *Noli me tangere*, exh. cat., pp. 55–57.

[55] The mass for 22 July contained a prayer which enabled one to 'see' the majesty of Christ-Sol. Baert, 'The Gaze in the Garden', n. 25.

[56] In mystery plays and manuscripts of her *vita*, she was depicted as a dancer; van den Wildenberg-De Kroon, 'Das Weltleben und die Bekehrung der Maria Magdalena'. Baert, 'The Gaze in the Garden', p. 30. Although the characterization of Mary Magdalene as a sinful

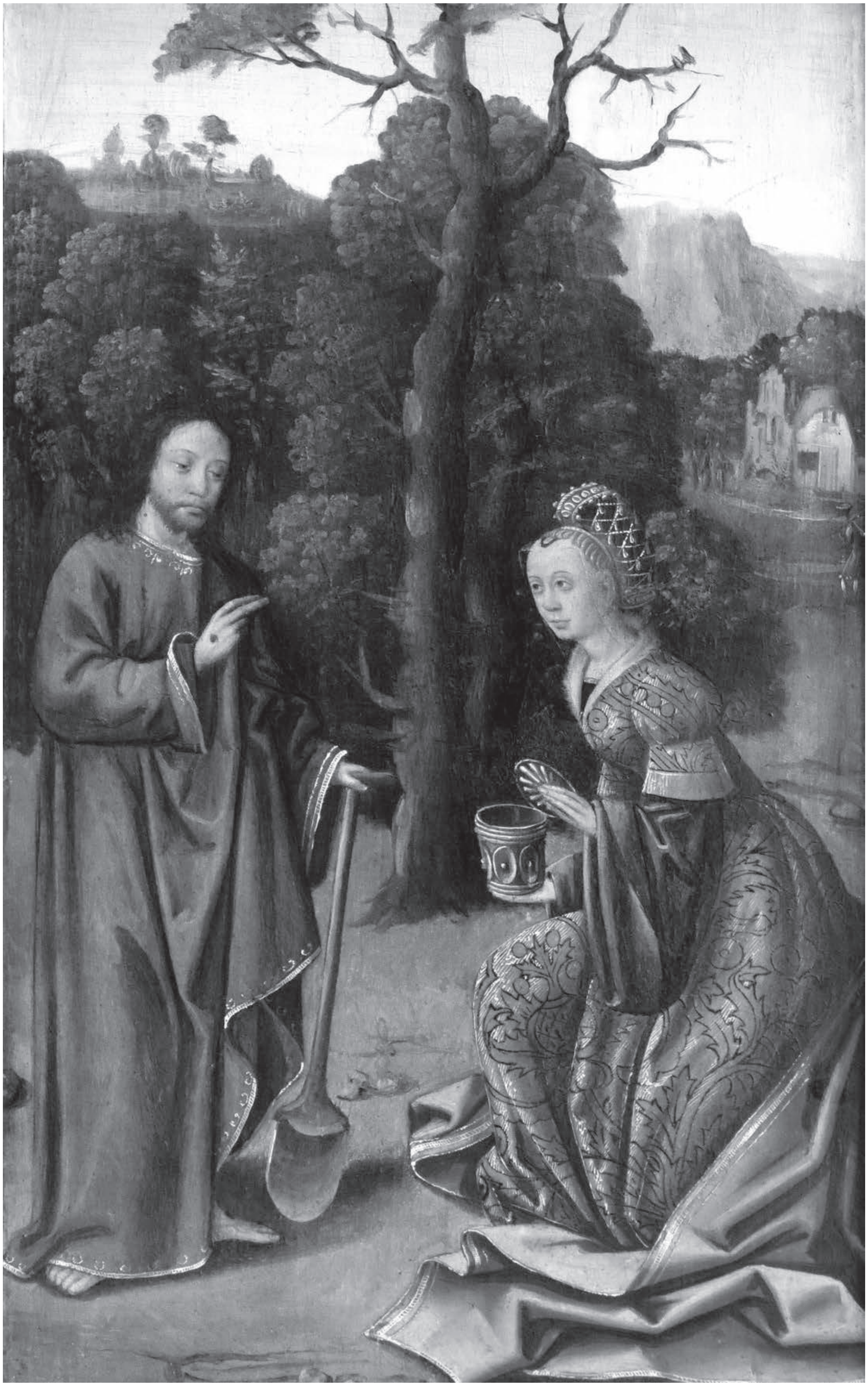

Figure 8.8. '*Noli me tangere*', Zepperen, Church of Saint Genoveva. *c.* 1500–20.
Photo Frank Kusters, reproduced with permission of the Church of Saint Genoveva, Zepperen.

Genoveva in Zepperen, a small village in Belgium, reflects this development and shows Mary Magdalene encountering Christ, not as the devout woman but dressed like a true matron (Figure 8.8). Her rich clothing and decorated cap are at odds with her kneeling posture and bent head. Her kneeling shows her realization that Christ is no longer of her world but will soon return to where He came from. Just as Christ is transformed from Son of Man to risen Lord — from spade to wound — Mary Magdalene is here transformed from worldly life to spiritual love. And it is precisely the memory of this worldly life that makes Mary Magdalene accessible, a model for every village woman in Zepperen, and a mediatrix for the forgiveness of their sins. In the inscription, she is directly addressed with the request: *Intercede pro nobis ad dominum* (Intercede for us with the Lord).[57] It is not only the clothing that recalls Mary Magdalene's life of sin. The *Noli me tangere* scene in the altarpiece plays out against the background of an open landscape with a remarkable tree at its centre: on the side of Christ the tree is full of leaves; on the side of Mary Magdalene it is dry.

From the early Middle Ages onwards the dry and barren tree appears in art as a symbol of sin. Christ in Matthew 7. 19 warned that 'Every tree that bringeth not forth good fruit, shall be cut down, and shall be cast into the fire', and in Matthew 21. 18–19 He curses a fruitless fig tree that immediately withers. Jeremiah 17. 5–8 compares the faithful to the green tree, the sinner to the dry tree in the desert. The Venerable Bede also identifies the green tree with Christ and his followers, the dry tree with the faithless.[58] But the main root of the dry tree as a symbol of sinfulness lay in the earthly paradise; the Tree of Knowledge withered after Adam and Eve ate its forbidden fruit.[59]

Of great importance are the typological connections 'Mary Magdalene – Eve' and 'tree –cross'; the dry Tree of Paradise was also worked into the Legend of the Wood of the Cross and its negative connotation extrapolated.[60] Based on Jacobus de Voragine's *Legenda aurea*, the South-Netherlandish poem *Van den drie Gaerden*, 'Of the three gardens' (1290–1330), elaborates on Seth's journey.[61] The way to Paradise is not hard to find as Seth can retrace his parents' expulsion by following the barren patches left on the earth by their footprints, but once he arrives he is unable to enter.[62] The angel permits him only to glance inside. First he sees a tree growing from the Fountain of Life. Then he sees that a snake has coiled around its trunk and the tree is bare. The angel explains that the tree became barren due to Seth's parents' sin. Finally, Seth sees a crying child in the crown of the tree; the angel explains that the child is weeping for Seth's parents' sins and that he cannot obtain the oil of mercy until this child, the Son of God, has come to redeem Adam's sins.[63] Seth is given three seeds to plant in the mouth of

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and repentant woman was strongly promoted by Franciscan devotions, it was not until the Cinquecento that the *Christus hortulamus* and the secularized Mary Magdalene made their appearance in Italian *Noli me tangere* iconography. Baert, 'The Gaze in the Garden', p. 33, Baert, '*Noli me tangere* and Narrative Space', p. 18; Rafanelli, 'The Ambiguity of Touch', pp. 199–200, 208–10.

[57] Aristocratic and patrician women of the north also identified with Mary Magdalene in portraits, for example, in the portrait by Quinten Metsijs (*c.* 1466–1530). Baert, 'The Gaze in the Garden', p. 30 and ill. 15.

[58] Ezekiel 17. 24 contrasts the dry tree and the green tree, albeit in the opposite sense, to indicate God's omnipotence: 'And all the trees of the country shall know that I the Lord have brought down the high tree, and exalted the low tree: and have dried up the green tree, and have caused the dry tree to flourish'. The comparison of the faithful to fruitful trees and of the faithless to barren trees is found numerous times in the Bible: Psalm 1. 3; Psalm 92. 13; Jeremiah 17. 1–24; Isaiah 1. 30; Matthew 3. 10; Luke 13. 6–9. Kirschbaum, *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, I, cols 258–68.

[59] There is a complex literary tradition of the withered Tree of Paradise. The Apocalypse of Moses says that at the moment of the Fall, all trees except the Tree of Knowledge lost their leaves. In the Ethiopic Book of Adam and Eve only the Tree of Knowledge becomes bare. In *De Mysteries van de H. Johannes de Apostel* an angel tells John that the bare Tree of Knowledge lost its leaves through Adam's sin. Peebles, 'The Dry Tree: Symbol of Death'. Vervoort, 'Duivelse bomen of toverbomen?', p. 270. In his *Voyages*, John Mandeville also refers to an ancient breed of oak called Dyrp that was always green and leafy until the moment of Christ's death on the cross, when all trees of this sort became dry. Van der Meulen, 'Onze Lieve Vrouwe van de Droge Boom in Brugge', n. 52. Hildegard of Bingen defended the Tree of Knowledge in her *Liber Scivias* (1141–51), writing that eating of its fruit was evil because it was a disobedient turning away from God, and not because the fruit itself was bad, as God placed nothing evil in Paradise. Vervoort, 'Duivelse bomen of toverbomen?', p. 267.

[60] Baert, *Een erfenis van heilig hout*, p. 153 (Baert, *A Heritage of Holy Wood*, trans. by Preedy, p. 194) and Baert, 'Hierotopy, Jerusalem and the Legend of the Wood of the Cross'.

[61] Baert, 'Kruis-hout-boom', p. 111. For the tradition of Seth, see Baert, *A Heritage of Holy Wood*, trans. by Preedy, pp. 72–80; Baert, 'Hierotopy, Jerusalem and the Legend of the Wood of the Cross'.

[62] These barren patches refer to the infertility and death that followed from sin. The grass was said to have permanently died under Judas's feet, too. Vervoort, 'Duivelse bomen of toverbomen?', pp. 269–70.

[63] The vision is extremely rare in the iconography; for the motif in art, see Baert, 'Totten paradise soe sult ghi gaen', n. 66. The poem also mentions that the body of Seth's brother, Abel, was concealed

Adam's corpse. Subsequently, three trees emerge: a cedar, a cypress, and a pine, respectively for the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit. Later these trees will grow into a single tree and provide the wood for the Cross of Christ.[64]

In his *Pèlerinage de l'Âme* of 1355–58 the French monk Guillaume de Digulleville links the duality of the tree, as a symbol both of the Fall and of Redemption, to the quest of the pilgrim as a metaphor for the seeking soul.[65] The *Pèlerinage* describes the pilgrim-soul's journey after leaving Purgatory and setting off for Heaven with an angel. They see a great plain where there is a green tree and a dry tree; under these trees a number of pilgrims are playing with an apple. The angel says that each pilgrim sometimes finds things hard and then, like a child, seeks comfort in play. He explains that the pilgrim should not take the apple for the fruit of the Tree of Knowledge. It is a different apple, once borne of the green tree and transplanted to the dry tree to replace Adam. The apple is the fruit of the cross, formerly borne of the Tree of Life. Guillaume de Digulleville then has the angel explain how the new apple could come to the dry tree and inserts the Seth passage. First the angel explains the origins of the green tree: when Adam had eaten the apple in Paradise, his sinful intestines were incapable of digesting the pips in such a way that a tree bearing good fruit could grow from them; on the contrary, these seeds produced only sour and bitter fruits. This changed when God placed a graft on one of these apple trees; the base was St Anne, from whom the new shoot of the Blessed Virgin Mary grew into a magnificent tree. The angel then explains the origins of the dry tree: Seth obtained a twig of the tree from which Adam had once eaten from Paradise. Returning to find his father dead, Seth planted the twig on Adam's corpse, where it grew into the tree that would provide the wood of the cross on which Christ, the fruit of the first tree, would hang.[66] By hanging Christ, the fruit of the green tree (Mary) on the dry tree (the wood of the cross) — in the place of the apple that Adam had once plucked — the dead wood was restored to life.[67] The *translatio* from the one tree to the other marks, in Christ's death, the transition from Fall to Redemption. Gregory of Nyssa (*c.* 335–94) describes the wood of the cross as *arbor mixtus*, bearing the fruits of both death and life.[68]

Can, by analogy, the dryness of the *Noli me tangere* tree be seen as referring to more than Mary Magdalene's own sinful life?[69] Can the half barren, half green tree, in its reference to the cross, be seen as a derivate of the *arbor mixtus*? In other words, does the tree embody at a macro-level the transition from Fall to Redemption, and at a micro-level, with Mary Magdalene as exemplar, the possibility for each individual to repent?[70] As a symbol

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between the roots of the tree. Nothing more is said of Abel, but his death was well known as a prefiguration of the Passion of Christ. Baert, 'Kruis-hout-boom', p. 111. The motif of the child in the tree is also to be found in the early Grail legends; the child points the way to the Grail, only to climb up the tree and vanish from sight. See Baert, 'Kruis-hout-boom', p. 112; van der Meulen, 'Onze Lieve Vrouwe van de Droge Boom in Brugge', p. 216.

[64] Baert, 'Kruis-hout-boom', p. 108. The *Merveilles du monde* situate a 'dry tree' near Hebron, the site of Adam's tomb. Odoric of Pordenone (1286–1331) says that this dry tree died when Christ was crucified. John Mandeville (1322) refers to the dry tree near Hebron as the tree of Seth. Baert, 'Totten paradise soe sult ghi gaen', p. 24, n. 32–34. van der Meulen, 'Onze Lieve Vrouwe van de Droge Boom in Brugge', pp. 216–27.

[65] Baert, *Een erfenis van heilig hout*, pp. 253, 349 (Baert, *A Heritage of Holy Wood*, trans. by Preedy, pp. 331, 424); Guillaume de Deguileville, *Le Pèlerinage de l'Ame*, ed. by Stürzinger; van der Meulen, 'Onze Lieve Vrouwe van de Droge Boom in Brugge', pp. 217–21. The duality of the dry and the flowering tree thus corresponds to the archetype of the double aspect of the truth of nature, at once veiling and revealing, dark and light. Barbara Baert and Veerle Fraters, 'Inleiding — Aan de vruchten kent men de boom', in Baert and Fraeters, *Aan de vruchten kent men de boom*, pp. 13–18 (p. 14).

[66] Sometimes Seth plants the twig in Adam's mouth, as a reference to the fruit he had sinned by eating.

[67] Van der Meulen, 'Onze Lieve Vrouwe van de Droge Boom in Brugge', p. 217. In his *Disputacie van Onser Vrouwen ende van den Heilighen Cruce* (Disputation of Our Lady and the Holy Cross), Jacob van Maerlant imagines a debate between Mary and the Cross. He does not speak of a Green and a Dry Tree, but he does have the Cross speak of Mary's sweet fruit adorning his own branches and say that this fruit in his wood could redeem the Fall of the wood of Adam. Van der Meulen, 'Onze Lieve Vrouwe van de Droge Boom in Brugge', p. 221.

[68] Gregory of Nyssa, *Accurata dicti illius divini consideratio*, col. 179. A tenth-century Byzantine ivory shows the cross visually interpreted as two identical trees surrounded by a creeper: to the left the creeper bears grapes; to the right it is barren. The cross unites the barren and the fruitful vine. Central panel of the tenth-century ivory triptych from Harbaville, Paris, Louvre; Baert, 'Totten paradise soe sult ghi gaen', p. 20 and ill.1; Dufour-Kowalska, *L'Arbre de vie et la Croix*, p. 64, ill. 18. The juxtaposition green tree/Tree of Life — dry tree/Tree of Knowledge is often presented in the iconography as a juxtaposition of Mary and Eve; the tree divides into two, with apples on the one side and hosts on the other, with Eve picking apples and Mary distributing hosts.

[69] Unlike the Mary Magdalene portrait painted by Jan van Scorel around 1529, where the imperceptibly dry tree — was it even consciously such? — might refer to Mary Magdalene's sinful life, but in a purely 'static' fashion. Vervoort, 'Duivelse bomen of toverbomen?', ill. 12.

[70] We have asked ourselves whether the motif of the dry tree was explicitly linked to the *Christus hortulamus* or to the 'reverse' *Noli me tangere* from the perspective of Mary Magdalene's earthly —

of divine insight, her duality seems to display this transition to the faithful quite literally. In the association of the dry with Mary Magdalene and the green with Christ, the combined tree visualizes not only this literal transition in its unification of the earthly and the heavenly, but also makes it possible to view dryness as a reversible condition. For the metaphor of the tree demonstrates how dying contains the possibility of regeneration.

And this, perhaps, is what gives force and meaning to the half dry, half green tree combined with the *Noli me tangere*: the possibility of salvation. Not as in the allegory on *The Broad Way and the Narrow Way*, where a richly dressed woman, a contemporary Eve, stands under the dry tree to lure passers by on to the broad way to damnation.[71] Neither as in the case of the unfruitful tree in the *Liber floridus* of Lambert of St Omer (*c.* 1120) where the axe is already laid onto the root of the (i.e. prepared to hack away at the useless) Tree of Human Vices (cf. Matthew 3. 10).[72] The dry *Noli me tangere* tree can, as Martin Schongauer illustrates, blossom again (Figure 8.3).[73] Still dry in the lower trunk, the crown of the tree breaks out into a multitude of blossoms and fruits that align the motif of the tree with another theme: that of the enclosed garden.

The Flowering Tree

The inclusion of the tree in the enclosed garden was the result of an intertextual interpretation combining the *Noli me tangere* with the Song of Songs.[74] Positioned as the New Eve, harbinger of salvation, Mary Magdalene is called 'Ecclesia', seeking her bridegroom as the Church seeks his people, by Hippolytus of Rome (235), who relates John 20. 17 to Song of Songs 3. 1–4, in which the bride seeks her lover.[75] In the Roman Missal, the passage from the Song of Songs became the first reading in the liturgy of the saint's day on 22 July. Spread by the Apocrypha and the *Biblia pauperum* (Paupers' Bible), the idea of Mary Magdalene as the bride or the *Beata Dilectrix Christi* especially came to the fore in the mystic waves of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, both to the north and to the south of the Alps,[76] for example in the writings of Mechtild of Hackeborn (d. 1298)[77] and of Catherine of Siena (1347–80).[78] A Canticle of Mary Magdalene, written in thirteenth-century Provence, expresses her great love for Christ in a monologue:

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sinful — limitation and her inability to recognize the risen Christ. Here again, however, the contractions typical of the *Noli me tangere* iconography allow no straightforward answer.

[71] The motif of the dry tree is also a common theme in profane iconography; see Vervoort, 'Duivelse bomen of toverbomen?', pp. 276–77. For its use in an anonymous work from around 1565, see Caron and others, *Helse en hemelse vrouwen*, p. 120. A comparable scheme can be found in a woodcut by Lucas Cranach the Elder, where on the left, under the bare branches of a central tree, a person is being dragged down to hell, while the one on the right, under the green branches, gains eternal life by Christ's death on the cross. Merback, *The Thief, the Cross and the Wheel*, ill. 114.

[72] Ghent, Rijksuniversiteit, Cod. 1125, fol. 213^v and 232^r. The tree need not be dry but can simply bear no fruit. The duality of the dry/unfruitful tree and the green tree is expressed in the *Liber floridus* by the Tree of Virtues: virtue is Ecclesia and flourishing; vice is Synagogue and dry. Baert, 'Kruis-hout-boom', n. 41. Behling, 'Ecclesia als arbor bona'. On the Tree of Virtues, see also van der Poel, 'Memorabele bomen', p. 246. A redaction of the *Somme-Miroir* from the second half of the fourteenth century follows the *traité des vertus* with a disquisition on the *arbre sec*; van der Meulen, 'Onze Lieve Vrouwe van de Droge Boom in Brugge', pp. 225–26. The *Malleus maleficarum* says that an olive tree planted by a harlot will be fruitless, but one planted by a virtuous woman will bear fruit. Vervoort, 'Duivelse bomen of toverbomen?', p. 267. On the west portal of Amiens Cathedral (*c.* 1120) there is a leafy tree on the left below the wise virgins, and on the right under the foolish virgins a dry tree. Toubert, 'Une fresque de San Pedro de Sorpe', ill. 15 and 16.

[73] More often the reverse is emphasized as a warning. In the *Formicarius* (1435) of Johannes Nider (1380–1438), for instance, the human person is represented as a tree; the green tree is rooted in love but just as ants can damage the roots of a tree, making it dry, demons can destroy faith, hope, and love in a human heart. Nider, *Formicarius*, ed. by Biedermann, p. 5; Vervoort, 'Duivelse bomen of toverbomen?', p. 268.

[74] Van den Eynde, 'Hou mij niet vast', p. 11.

[75] Hippolytus of Rome, *In canticum canticorum*, 25, in Hippolytus of Rome, *Traités d'Hippolyte sur David et Goliath*, ed. by Garitte, pp. 45–49. See also Saxer, 'Marie Madeleine'.

[76] The impact of mysticism and the *mulieres religiosae* on the *Noli me tangere* is developed in Baert, 'The Embroidery Antependium of Wernigerode'.

[77] Mechtild of Hackeborn, also known as Mechtild of Helfta, describes how the wounds and the tears of Mary Magdalene became the ultimate grace for the union with Christ, the lover. Mary's love was so overwhelming that Christ said to her, after she wept at Simon's house, 'Go in peace' (*Vade in pace*). Mechtild's vision of Mary Magdalene, which took place on the saint's feast day, concludes with an address from the saint, asking all to do penance and to follow her in shedding tears of true spiritual love and joy, so that God will grant forgiveness. Mechtildis von Helfeda, *Das Buch der geistlichen Gnaden*, III: *Reliquien auss dem Mittelalter*, pp. 149–51; Dutch translation in *Het boek der bijzondere genade*, ed. and trans. by Bromberg, p. 412. English translation: *The Booke of Gostlye Grace*, ed. by Halligan, pp. 233–37.

[78] Bynum, 'Patterns of Female Piety'.

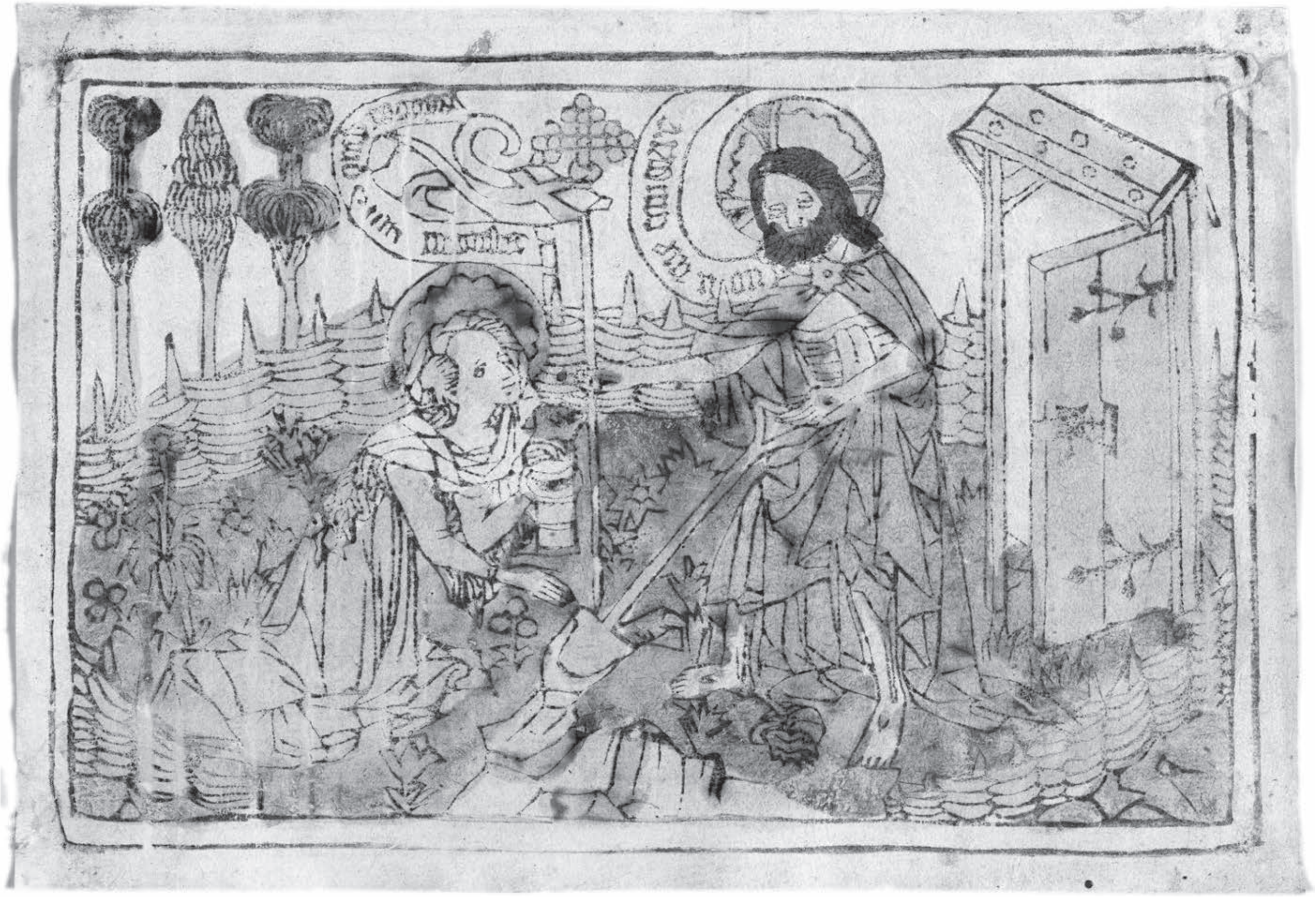

Figure 8.9. '*Noli me tangere*', Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, VI Aa 15. *c.* 1450. Photo courtesy of the Staatbibliothek, Bamberg.

> 'Mary!' He said. And I recognized the Master and rushed to him, to embrace him. But He said: 'Do not touch me!' And I understood that I must die, like him, if I was to be at one with love, that does not die, but, beyond death and the grave, points us the way to a happiness that is great without end and durable without end.[79]

Here, the impact of *Noli me tangere* is radicalized to such an extent that Mary Magdalene has to pass through death, together with Christ, so that she can 'rise again' in everlasting love and wisdom. In the *Biblia pauperum*, the *Noli me tangere* is connected, on the one hand, to Daniel in the lions' den (Daniel 6. 19–24), and on the other, to the encounter and embrace of the bride and bridegroom of the Song of Solomon (Canticle 3. 4).

Although the Bride of the Song of Songs was in the first instance thought of as Marialogian, in the course of the Middle Ages the *Noli me tangere* also acquired a charge of iconographic energy of mystic love. In the religious sensibility of the female mystics of the north, the setting of this love described in the Song of Songs, the enclosed garden had already become a favourite symbol of their own mystical, paradisiac marriage with Christ across the bounds of death.[80] Allusions to the enclosed garden not only contain paradisiac flowers, but also references to the wood of the cross and to the Passion.[81]

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[79] Brunklaus, *Het Hooglied van Maria Magdalena*, p. 96. The *Noli me tangere* is also connected to the Raising of Lazarus: 'And I, filled with gratitude, embraced the master, but with one look from his eyes, He warded me off. "Do not touch me", He said. But already Lazarus lay in my arms, weeping for joy'; Brunklaus, *Het Hooglied van Maria Magdalena*, p. 92.

[80] Mary is often represented in an enclosed garden, especially in scenes of the Annunciation. Both the Annunciation and the *Noli me tangere* relate to the Incarnation, respectively forming the first and last moment of Christ's human presence on earth. The human and divine nature meet in both moments, and each woman therefore has a share in this transition, being privileged as ultimate brides of Christ. We have as yet, however, as already stated, found no combined Annunciation/*Noli me tangere* that links both scenes through the motif of the tree in the garden. Dailey, 'The "Closed Garden" and the "Sealed Fountain"'.

[81] Baert, 'Kruis-hout-boom', p. 113. Van den Broeck, *Hooglied*,

Golgotha is the new Paradise, the cross the new Tree of Life, and from his blood springs the new Fountain of Life.[82] In *Thoofkijn van devotien* (The garden of devotion), a mystical manual printed by Gerard Leeu (Antwerp, 1487), a female figure becomes the personification of the soul in a *hortus conclusus* with the Fountain of Paradise on one side and on the other a green tree with a cross and three nails in its canopy.[83]

As a symbol of mystic love, mixed with the idea of the Garden of Paradise and from Mary Magdalene's significance as 'one of the worthy friends of our dear Lord' and her exemplary role in perceiving this new Paradise, the motif of the enclosed garden was also transplanted to the *Noli me tangere* and its garden setting. From the fifteenth century onwards and in areas north of the Alps, fences, walls, or hedges become a fixture of *Noli me tangere* iconography, as in the panel by Martin Schongauer (Figure 8.3).[84] While the fence here only suggests the enclosed setting of the *Noli me tangere*, in an anonymous fifteenth-century illustration the fence actually creates an intimate setting for the encounter between Christ and Mary Magdalene (Figure 8.9). The spade as an attribute of Christ refers, in the context of the garden, to Mary Magdalene's initial assumption that she was addressing a gardener.

The prohibition of touch in the *Noli me tangere* adds a more specific dimension to the enclosed character of the *hortus conclusus* in the context of religious women living in a situation of physical enclosure. These women not only, in their desire for a mystic union with Christ, identified with Mary Magdalene, but also, and more importantly, saw in her an example and a comfort, for, as they were prohibited from touching the eucharistic host with their hands, like Mary Magdalene they also had to transform a desire to hold into a caress with the gaze.[85] In this unshakeable bond, Mary Magdalene and the nun are united beyond time and space, tightly interwoven with the motif of the enclosed garden. For the fence is itself, in this context, no innocent motif: it brings the *Noli me tangere* into the richly symbolic language of convent life. As a metaphor for cloistered seclusion,[86] virginity,[87] and bridal mysticism,[88] the *hortus conclusus* connects with the prohibition to touch and so forms a secondary barrier. Isolation manifests itself both in internal and external layers of the image. But more than a barrier, this enclosure also delineates the space in which the nun can enter into an encounter with Mary Magdalene; it stimulates the nun to go beyond her own isolation in the convent and to arrive at a new intimacy. The private encounter with Mary Magdalene was the first preliminary step towards an encounter between her and Christ.

It was not only the motif of the enclosed garden that drew the *Noli me tangere* into the complex of ideas about mystical intimacy. The great variety of blossoms and flowers, again referring to the Song of Songs, also places the encounter of Christ and Mary Magdalene in the context of bridal mysticism.[89] In the suggestion of a multiplicity of colours and scents, the *Noli me tangere* garden corresponds not only to the established metaphors of Paradise — in *Thoofkijn van devotien* the cross is referred to as fragrant, just like the other herbs in the garden — but also to the way in which Christ in mystical thought was perceived as a real gardener.[90] *Sermo* 12 in a manuscript

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pp. 91–104. The motif of the enclosed garden also refers to the image of the earthly paradise as a walled island, as a safe world beyond which evil lies.

[82] A passage in the Legend of the Wood of the Cross already alludes to the enclosed garden: after Moses had transplanted the three saplings from Adam's grave to Mount Sinai, and David was urged in a dream to bring them to Jerusalem, they were planted in a pool of water, where they grew into a single tree. David enlarged the garden, so that the miraculous tree was brought within the wall. Baert, 'Kruis-hout-boom', p. 108.

[83] Baert, 'Kruis-hout-boom', p. 113; Ghent, Rijksuniversiteit, Res. 169. The text is a Midde Dutch translation of Pierre d'Ailly's *Le jardin amoureux de l'âme dévote*. See Falkenburg, *The Fruit of Devotion*, trans. by Herman, pp. 36–37, ill. 47–48.

[84] Baert, 'The Gaze in the Garden', p. 29.

[85] Baert and others, *Noli me tangere*, pp. 62–64.

[86] The image of the enclosed garden was explicitly linked to the nun's enclosure. Thus Bernard of Clairveaux in his *Sermo ad clericos de conversione* describes the convent as a paradise on earth and states that entering the monastery is a return to paradise; Schmidtke, *Studien zur dingallegorischen Erbauungsliteratur*, pp. 400–02. See also Küsters, *Der Verschlossene Garten*; Meyaert, 'The Medieval Monastic Garden'; Steinmetzer, '*Hortus conclusus*, das Janusgesicht des Gartens im Mittelalter'.

[87] The *hortus conclusus* was also a symbol for the nun's virginity. In the legend of St Gudula (d. *c.* 712) this is linked to the tree itself; God plants a tree on her grave to ensure that her body remains unscathed even after death and as a sign of approval for her chiefest virtue, namely her chaste virginity. Heene, 'De symbolische betekenis en de materiële functie van bomen', p. 114.

[88] Haskins, *Mary Magdalen*, passim.

[89] The fruitful, blossoming tree also functioned as a metaphor of love in profane literature; the French *arbres d'amors*, in which each element of the tree was extensively analysed in the ascent to true love and virtue, are one such example. On these, see van der Poel, 'Memorabele bomen', pp. 243–45; also Kutschbach, 'Das Irdische Paradies'.

[90] Baert, 'Kruis-hout-boom', p. 113. References to the exceptional variety of flowers, scents, and colours in Paradise are numer-

collection of the sermons of Jan Storm, written in 1507, explains to Mary Magdalene why Christ really is a gardener: 'For He sowed all the good seed in the garden of your soul'.[91] A sermon noted down by Lijsbeth Waelbeerts between 1450 and 1500 also lays emphasis on Christ's work as a gardener and the tools He carries.[92] A Middle Dutch version of a sermon by Gregory the Great, written in a manuscript around 1473, explains that Christ was a gardener for Mary Magdalene, digging in her heart and planting love that grew thanks to the heat.[93] The enclosed garden thereby symbolizes the soul in which Jesus delves and sows.[94] This image corresponds not only to the motif of God as a gardener who plants trees/people in his garden/Church,[95] but at the same time to the image of the Christian life as a garden in which weeds have to be pulled up so that flowers can blossom.[96]

We have already indicated that the *Noli me tangere* tree, in its mystic aspiration, is seldom meant to be a realistic tree, and it is no different for the flowering tree. Only towards the end of the Middle Ages, with a growing tendency towards realism and naturalism, can any specific species be identified and meaning be ascribed to the tree motif in this way. Fra Angelico's *Noli me tangere* of around 1450 places the encounter of Christ and Mary Magdalene before the open tomb (Figure 8.10). The grass is strewn with flowers and grasses, and the rear of the garden is separated from a dense forest by a fence. In the enclosed garden there is not one tree, or a crowd of 'anonymous' trees, but four recognizable trees, clearly distinguished from one another in their realistic depiction. In light of the function of the *Noli me tangere* tree to call to mind the cross, is it possible to account for such differentiation in types of tree by the various twigs that Seth obtained from Paradise and that later provided the wood of the cross? A Slavic translation of the Latin *Vita Adae et Evae* (1000–1200) was the first text to specify what twigs these were: Seth was given one twig of cedar, one of cypress, and one of pine.[97] The South-Netherlandish poem *Van den drie Gaerden*, as we have already seen, mentions these three trees as referring to the Trinity and respectively symbolizing the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit.[98] A manuscript of the travels

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ous; a third-century panegyric to the cross encourages the believer to become part of this abundance and leads by example: 'I flower with the flowers'. For other examples, see Reno, *The Sacred Tree*, pp. 157–59.

[91] Brussels, Konigkl. Bib., Cod. II 298/012, fols 119^v–128^r, 125^r. Sherwood-Smith and Stoop, *Repertorium van Middelnederlandse Preken*, I: *Antwerpen. Brussel*, pp. 620–21.

[92] Brussels, Konigkl. Bib., Cod. 1678/006, fols 10^r–11^v, 10^v; Stooker and Verbeij, *Collectie op orde*, num. 214.

[93] 'Die in haer herte bi den raden synre minnen plante groeyende doerheyden'. Brussels, Konigkl. Bib., Cod. 1173–74, fols 40^v–45^v, 42^v–43^r. Speltincx, 'Raak me niet aan in de Besloten Tuin', pp. 13–15. With thanks to Bram Rossano.

[94] In the *Nürnberger Garten*, a text expressing the intimacy of the relationship between Christ and the soul, the opposite is found: Christ invites the soul to enter his garden. Nuremberg, Stadtbibliothek, Cod. Cent. VII, 35, fols 176^r–190^r; Schmidtke, *Studien zur dingallegorischen Erbauungsliteratur*, pp. 413–14. In the Rothschild Canticles (1300) this mystic union is represented in the picture of Christ and the bride together picking fruit and flowers in the garden; Hamburger, *The Rothschild Canticles*, pp. 1–6, 80–86. On the antependium of the Cistercian convent in Medingen there is an explicit example of how this 'mystic ascent' to God adopted the motifs of the tree, the ladder, and the cross. Christ crucified is represented at the centre; the cross is conceived of as a vine. A veiled woman ascends a ladder that leans against the cross, to climb into the wound in Christ's side. A second woman at the foot of the cross represents the soul, with the words 'It is a delight to be able to rest in this garden and see my beloved on this tree and collect roses in my lap'. Hamburger, *Krone und Schleier*, illustration on p. 78, p. 344.

[95] For the image in Christian literature of the individual Christian as a tree planted by the Father-gardener, see Reno, *The Sacred Tree*, p. 95. God here appears as the gardener planting trees/people in his garden/Church. In the context of the Passion this garden is often described as a vineyard. Reno, *The Sacred Tree*, pp. 112–21. The Church is also described as, or compared to, the enclosed garden; this refers not only to the earthly paradise but also to the future; it is often a new bed for the transplanted Tree of Life. A linked idea is God as gardener and Christ as Church, with God planting trees/people in Christ. Reno, *The Sacred Tree*, pp. 97–99, 103. The connection with water also makes the motif of the tree/garden (and its fruits) a symbol for the newly baptized and, like Mary Magdalene, is therefore described as the new Church. For the connection water–tree–baptism, see Reno, *The Sacred Tree*, pp. 101, 118, 169.

[96] The image of the moral life as a garden in which weeds should be pulled up so that flowers can bloom can be found in Beatrice of Tienen, among other places; Reypens, *Vita Beatricis*, cols 118–19 (pp. 85–86). In the Bible, thistles and thorns are described as a result of the Fall. Continual bloom, on the contrary, is associated with eternal life, with the perennially green Tree of Life, Paradise in flower, and the Resurrection. For this theme, see Alexandre-Bidon, 'Arbre de vie et Pâques fleuries', pp. 83–87; van Buuren, 'De tuin in het kader', pp. 127–28.

[97] Baert, *Een erfenis van heilig hout*, p. 240 (Baert, *A Heritage of Holy Wood*, trans. by Preedy, p. 318). One variation of the Legend of the Wood of the Cross in Godfrey of Viterbo (*Pantheon XIV*, *c.* 1180) gives the three types of tree as cypress, palm, and fir, miraculously growing into a single tree. This is again a symbol for the Trinity, and Godfrey emphasizes that when the cross was built its wood was visibly of three difference colours. Baert, *Een erfenis van heilig hout*, p. 218 (Baert, *A Heritage of Holy Wood*, trans. by Preedy, p. 293).

[98] Konrad of Würzburg (1230–87) compares Mary to these

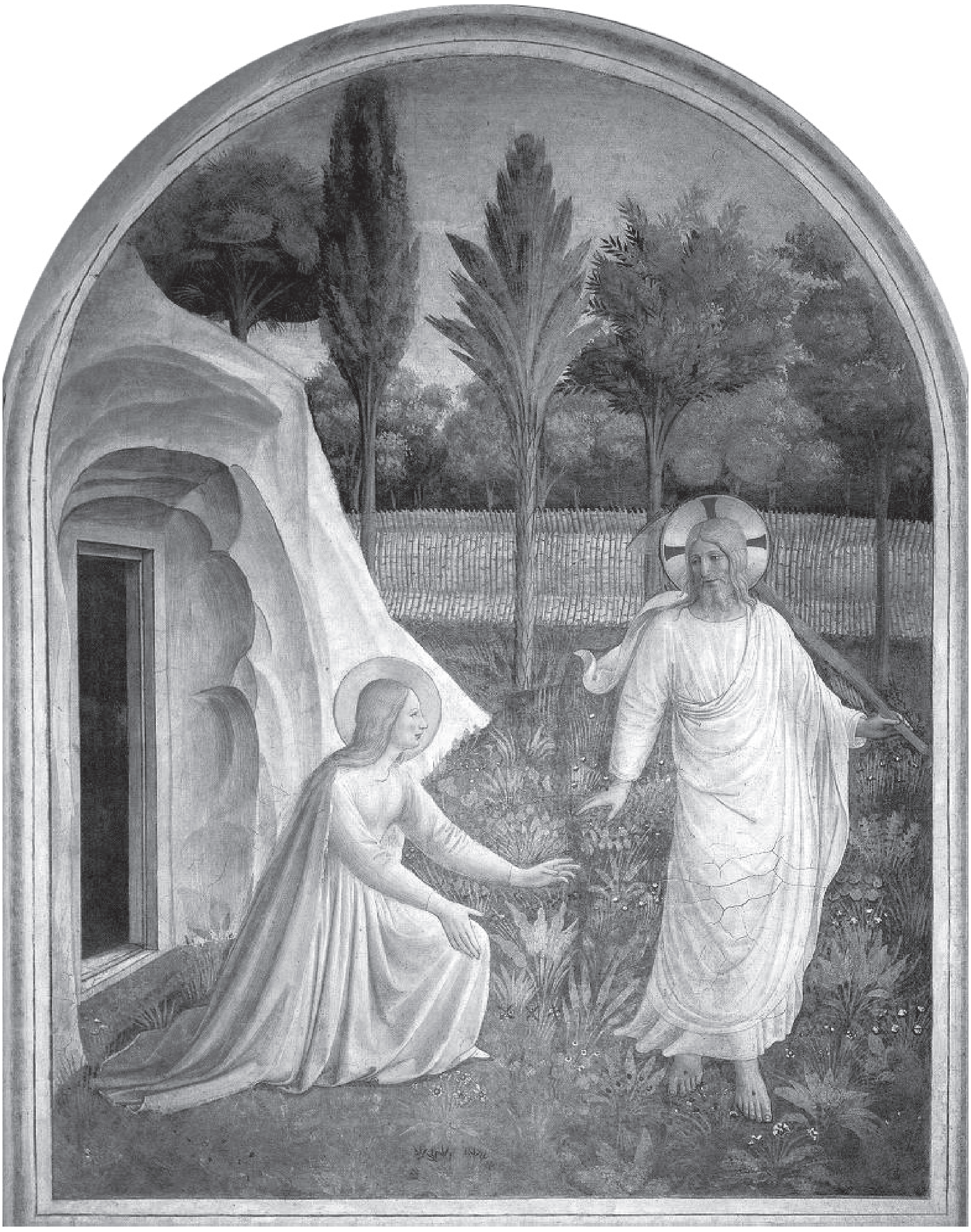

Figure 8.10. Fra Angelico, *Noli me tangere*, Florence, Museo di San Marco. 1436–45.
Reproduced with permission of the Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali.

of John Mandeville (*c.* 1410–20), preserved in London, extends the number of trees to four. Mandeville describes the construction of the cross on the basis of Seth's different twigs: the upright was made of the palm that grew on Adam's grave in Hebron,[99] the crossbar was made from a cypress from Jerusalem, the footrest was made of cedar wood from Lebanon, and the titulus from the wood of an olive tree.[100] In the construction of the cross from four different kinds of wood, as an elaboration of the old comparison of the cross and the Tree of Virtues, these four types of wood correspond to the encyclopaedic virtues of the trees. The *Liber floridus*, for example, relates the cedar to humility, the cypress to piety, the olive to mercy, and the palm to knowledge and wisdom.[101] Does the *Noli me tangere* incorporate this threefold or fourfold aspect, given its reference to the cross and encouragement to virtuous life? Fra Angelico's *Noli me tangere* certainly requires an interpretation in this direction as the four trees can be identified typologically as cedar, cypress, palm, and olive. As a Dominican prior and priest Fra Angelico certainly knew this textual tradition.[102] It is, however, doubtful that this was a more widespread iconographic theme. For while the anonymous fifteenth-century woodcut does suggest this differentiation, the abstraction and naivety of its representation — like that of many others — is harder to interpret with certainty (Figure 8.9).

Clearer than the identification of the four trees in Fra Angelico's *Noli me tangere* is the difference between the slenderness of these trees and the dense forest beyond the fence (Figure 8.10). The impenetrable forest had an extremely ambivalent function in late medieval thought. On the one hand the wilderness was seen as a 'desert', an uncultivated place outside village or town; on the other, this very 'rejection' could charge the peripheral 'wild' space with everything that was the opposite of the 'normal' world. Uncultivated nature beyond the bounds of civilization literally became a 'supernatural' location, a space for divine revelation, with the tree one of its foremost catalysts.[103] In the context of Mary Magdalene, her withdrawal into the wilderness meant a return to the original status of life, to purity, and thereby closeness to God. The dark forest in Fra Angelico's *Noli me tangere*, particularly in its contrast to the cultivated garden in which Mary Magdalene still seeks Christ, perhaps also evokes the threshold between here and hereafter, between the visible and the invisible, a division which is, as we have already seen, essential to the unfolding of the *Noli me tangere* event. Christ steps out of this world to the world of the Father, and as such He steps out of the world of the visible — the image — into the world of the invisible. This makes the locus of *Noli me tangere* interact with us as beholders. We too have to look through the eyes of Mary Magdalene to reach insight into his bodily states; we too have to go beyond corporeal sight.

Conclusion

Early on a spring morning, in the silence of a garden still glistening with dew, an encounter takes place that is one of the most enigmatic in the history of Christianity. Mary Magdalene is looking for Christ and, in this garden, will find Him. Their encounter will take place under the sheltering intimacy of a tree, for here too the motif of the tree has spread its branches and, in its symbolic complexity, buttressed the significance of this meeting. As narrative index the tree was first of all the most fitting motif to evoke and maintain the memory of the garden mentioned in John 20. 17. As a formal element it not only gives identity to the *Noli me tangere* scene; positioned between Christ and Mary Magdalene it also reinforces the boundary between them. But first and foremost, the motif of the tree gave allegorical depth to

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three trees. The tree of the Cross is the tree that 'bears' the fruit of Christ and is therefore in some sense Marial. Baert, 'Kruis-hout-boom', p. 114. St Guibert, 'by his faith firmly planted and rooted in the house of God', was compared to the palm tree (Ecclesiastes 24. 18), the cedars of Lebanon (Psalm 91. 13), and the fruitful olive (Psalm 51. 10). The cedar and the cypress, together with the palm tree, were already regarded as sacred by the Canaanites and the Israelites because of their impressive height. Heene, 'De symbolische betekenis en de materiële functie van bomen', p. 101.

[99] Although in literature the Tree of Life was identified with various sorts of tree, the oldest such identification, dating to patristic times, was with the palm tree. Reno, *The Sacred Tree*, p. 91.

[100] London, BL, MS 24189, fol. 11^{v}; Baert, *Een erfenis van heilig hout*, p. 317 (Baert, *A Heritage of Holy Wood*, trans. by Preedy, p. 364); *The Travels of Sir John Mandeville*, ed. by Krása, trans. by Kussi, p. 18, pl. 8.

[101] Baert, *Een erfenis van heilig hout*, p. 317 (Baert, *A Heritage of Holy Wood*, trans. by Preedy, pp. 364–66); Derolez, *Lamberti S. Audomari Canonici*, pp. 282–83, fols 139^{v}–140^{r}; Derolez, *Lambertus qui librum fecit*, p. 230; Mayo, 'The Crusaders under the Palm'.

[102] Morachiello, *Fra Angelico: The San Marco Frescoes*; Hood, *Fra Angelico at San Marco*; Didi-Huberman, *Fra Angelico*.

[103] Baert, 'Kruis-hout-boom', p. 115. Williams, *Wilderness and Paradise in Christian Thought*.

the *Noli me tangere*. Alluding to the Tree of Life and to the Cross of Christ, the tree confirms the significance of the *Noli me tangere* in a larger plan of salvation and Mary Magdalene's recovery from the Fall. For although the tree at first sight maintains the distance between them, it also, and above all, shows what kind of 'touch' will arise. The tree makes visible what the *Noli me tangere* stands for but cannot show, both because it needs the prohibition of touch and because the ultimate contact transcends what is merely physical. With its roots in the earth and its crown in the heavens, and allegorically referring to both Christ and Mary Magdalene, the tree is the perfect symbol of sublimated contact between the two. The (half) dry and flowering tree translate this to a microscopic level, showing the Mary Magdalene of the *Noli me tangere* as a general example. For we too are offered this sublimated contact, an invitation to a full understanding of Christ and Redemption. Mary Magdalene in the *Noli me tangere* sets the example; the tree marks the spot and shows us, as cross, *axis mundi*, flowering tree or half dry and half leafy, from root to crown, from earth to heaven, the way that we must take.

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Quasi lignum vitae: The Tree of Life as an Image of Mendicant Identity

Ulrike Ilg

On 14 April 1255, Pope Alexander IV (1254–61) issued a bull in defence of the Franciscan position in a controversy regarding the poverty of the Church, which had enflamed the minds at the University of Paris in the mid-thirteenth century. In the same bull, the Pope granted the mendicants the right to teach at the University of Paris. The title of this document — *Quasi lignum vitae* — draws attention to how important the motif of the Tree of Life was to mendicant and, more specifically, Franciscan spirituality.[1]

The Tree as a Diagram: The Manuscript Tradition of Bonaventure's Lignum vitae

The long iconographic tradition of the Tree of Life, which has its origins in the sixth century,[2] was appropriated by the Franciscan Order in the second half of the thirteenth century. It originally appeared as a mnemonic device underlying the textual structure of Bonaventure's devotional treatise *Lignum vitae* (*c*. 1260).[3] The Franciscan's text, which was intended for chanted performance, had as its subject matter the life, passion, and resurrection of Christ.[4] Following common medieval practice, Bonaventure advocated representational mnemonics, and although there was no physical diagram as part of his work, he created a mental image to help his readers memorize the content of his treatise. He himself wrote: 'Since imagination aids understanding, I have arranged (the passages) in the form of an imaginary tree'.[5] Bonaventure's text is developed in a manner which emulates the vertical growth of this tree, where the events in the life of the Saviour are divided into three successive temporal units corresponding to the base, centre, and top of the tree. The narrative begins with an elaboration of the origins and the life of Christ, followed by intense reflection of the passion, and ends with his glorification through resurrection and his second coming. Each of the three units consists of four thematic subsections. These correspond to the twelve chapters of the *Lignum vitae* and are represented by the twelve fruit-laden branches of the tree.[6] In Bonaventure's text, these 'fruits' or 'con-

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[1] *Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis*, ed. by Denifle, I: *Ab anno 1200 usque ad annum 1286* (1889), no. 247.

[2] The fundamental study on this subject is by Bauerreiss, *Arbor Vitae*. Further artistic examples are quoted in Sensi, 'Allegoria della Croce', pp. 289–90.

[3] See St Bonaventure, *Decem opuscula ad theologiam mysticam spectantia*. A literary and theological analysis, together with a discussion on the sources of the treatise, can be found in O'Connell, 'The "Lignum vitae" of Saint Bonaventure'.

[4] See Sensi, 'Allegoria della Croce', p. 289, n. 26.

[5] Bonaventure, *Lignum vitae*, *Prologus*, 2 (St Bonaventure, *Decem opuscula ad theologiam mysticam spectantia*, p. 169): 'Et quoniam imaginatio iuvat intelligentiam, ideo quae ex multis pauca collegi in imaginaria quadam arbore [...] ordinavi atque disposui'.

[6] Bonaventure, *Lignum vitae*, *Prologus*, 6 (St Bonaventure, *Decem opuscula ad theologiam mysticam spectantia*, pp. 172–75): 'Fructus I — Praeclaritas originis. Fructus II — Humilitas conversationis. Fructus III — Celsitudo virtutis. Fructus IV — Plenitudo pietatis. Fructus V — Confidentia in periculis. Fructus VI — Patientia in iniuriis. Fructus VII — Constantia in suppliciis. Fructus VIII — Victoria in conflictu mortis. Fructus IX — Novitas resurrectionis. Fructus X — Sublimitas ascensionis. Fructus XI — Aequitas iudicii. Fructus XII — Aeternitas regni'. As Bonaventure himself pointed

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The Tree: Symbol, Allegory, and Mnemonic Device in Medieval Art and Thought, ed. by Pippa Salonius and Andrea Worm, IMR 20 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014)
pp. 187–212
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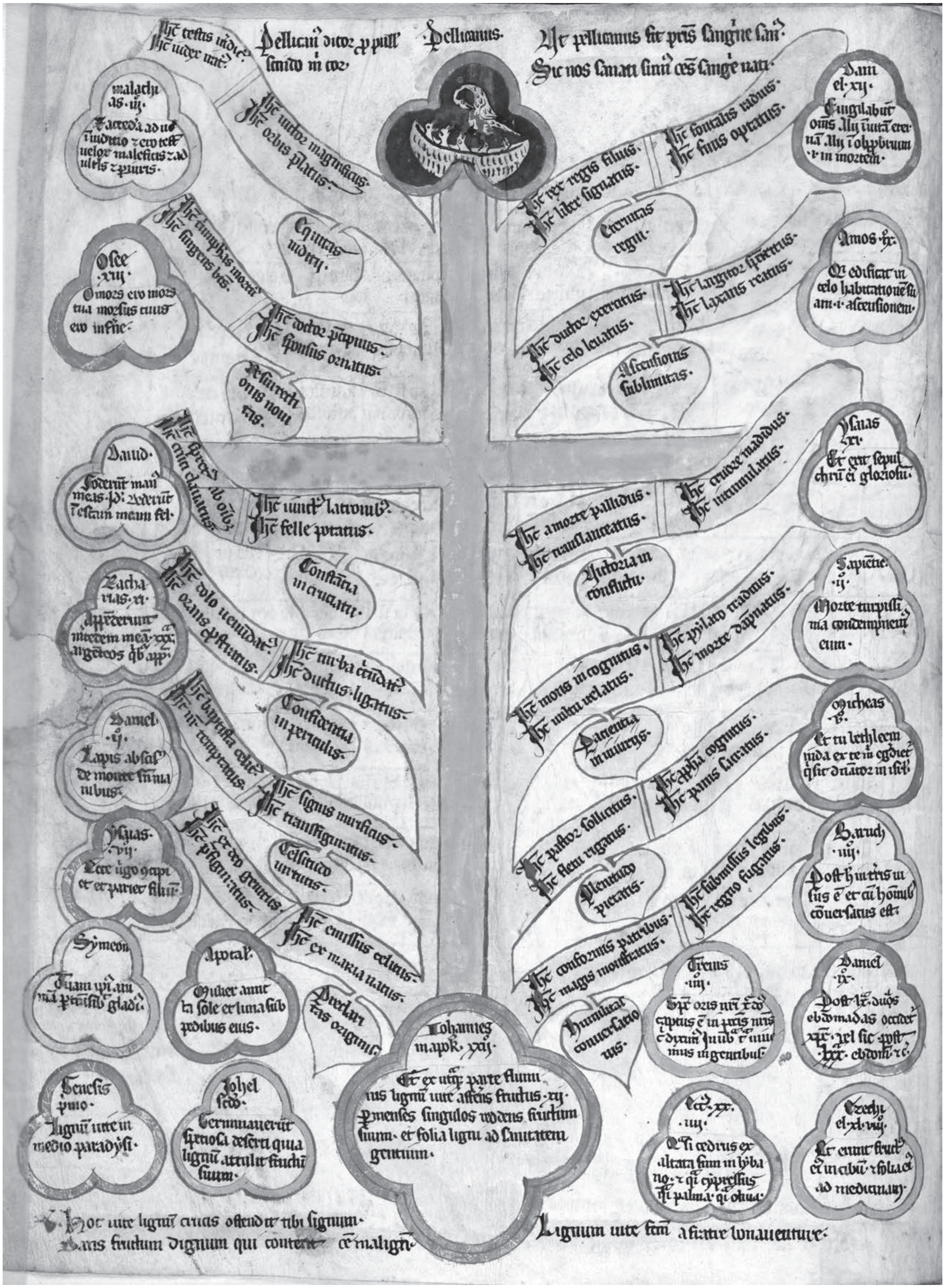
Pellicanus
Malachi
Osee
Dauid
Zacharias
Daniel
Symeon
Apocal.
Genesis
Johel
Johannes
Amos
Ysaias
Sapientie
Micheas
Baruch
Treni
Daniel
Ezechiel

Figure 9.1. 'Diagram of Bonaventure's *Lignum vitae*', Yale University, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Room, MS 416, fol. 1^{v}. Late thirteenth or early fourteenth century. Photo courtesy of the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Room, Yale University.

solations of the soul' serve as subheadings to brief comments, which guide the reader in his meditation on the mysteries of salvation and induce the faithful to reflect on specific moments in the life of Christ.[7]

The large number of more than two hundred surviving manuscripts transmitting the Latin version of the *Lignum vitae* and its many vernacular translations prove that Bonaventure's treatise was a stimulating and popular devotional text.[8] Although the original text was, as Bonaventure says, an 'imaginary tree', in the following decades the Franciscans tried to overcome the initial lack of a tangible visualization of the contents of the *Lignum vitae*.[9] Indeed, a significant number of late thirteenth- and early fourteenth-century manuscripts, which offer a didactic diagrammatic illustration based on the exegesis of Bonaventure's *Lignum vitae*, still exist (Figure 9.1).[10] The *Lignum vitae* motif can also be found occasionally in *Speculum theologiae* manuscripts[11] and became 'the most popular tree diagram of the thirteenth century'.[12] In the manuscript tradition, these miniatures always represent schematic 'non-naturalistic' tree images.[13] The illustrators freely interpreted the well-established Christian tradition of using the tree diagram as a device to organize dogmatic knowledge and as a memory aid.[14] What the miniatures in all these manuscripts have in common is that the cross on which Christ is crucified has been united with the vertical stem of the tree. This idea of visually fusing the image of the crucified Christ and the tree originates in the earlier Christian exegetical tradition, where the Tree of Life was interpreted as a prefiguration of the Holy Cross and used as a simile for it.[15] Building his argument on this long-established exegetical tradition, Bonaventure compared Christ to the Tree of Life, which enabled the faithful to re-enter Paradise, and at the same time identified the son of God directly with the Tree in the middle of Paradise.[16]

The Bonaventuran Tree of Life continued to develop, and in the early fourteenth century it was extracted

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out, the twelve fruits recall those of the Tree of Life in Apocalypse 22. 1–2 which bears one fruit each month: Bonaventure, *Lignum vitae*, *Prologus*, 2 (St Bonaventure, *Decem opuscula ad theologiam mysticam spectantia*, p. 169).

[7] Bonaventure, *Lignum vitae*, *Prologus*, 4 (St Bonaventure, *Decem opuscula ad theologiam mysticam spectantia*, p. 171).

[8] On the manuscript tradition and vernacular translations of this text, see Ruh, *Franziskanisches Schrifttum im deutschen Mittelalter*, I, 287–98; Rue, 'Bonaventura'; Bosmans, 'De Middelnederlandse vertalingen van Bonaventura's Lignum vitae'; Palmer and Rückert, 'Das "Lignum vitae" aus Bebenhausen', p. 122.

[9] Raphael Ligtenberg argued that Bonaventure's text already contained an illustration that accompanied the *Lignum vitae* treatise. Ligtenberg, 'Het Lignum vitae van de H. Bonaventura'. However, I think this is rather unlikely in view of the great variety of diagrammatic illustrations of the motif in the early manuscript tradition, which do not seem to follow one single prototype.

[10] Examples are discussed by Ligtenberg, 'Het Lignum vitae van de H. Bonaventura', pp. 15–40; Bougerol, *San Bonaventura 1274–1974*, I: *Il dottore serafico nelle raffigurazioni degli artisti* (1973), ed. by Peter Gerlach and Francesco Petrangeli Papini, pp. 40–42; Esmeijer, *Lignum vitae*, pp. 21–23; Porzio, *Francesco d'Assisi*, cat. no. 132, p. 381. Pumplun, *'Begriff des Unbegreiflichen'*, pp. 218–19. See the *Lignum vitae* in a late thirteenth-century composite manuscript in Darmstadt, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, Hs. 2777, fol. 43^{r}, and two *Lignum vitae* manuscripts of *c.* 1290/1300 in Rome, BAV, MS lat. 1058, fol. 28^{v}, and Perugia, Biblioteca Augusta, MS 280, E 27, fol. 100^{r}; see the article by Pippa Salonius, '*Arbor Jesse – Lignum vitae*: The Tree of Jesse, the Tree of Life, and the Mendicants in Late Medieval Orvieto', in this volume (esp. Figure 10.11) which discusses the Italian illustrative tradition.

[11] For an example of the Bonaventuran Tree of Life in a *Speculum theologiae* collection, see New Haven, Yale Univ., Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Room, MS 416, fol. 1^{v}. The Beinecke manuscript is a late thirteenth-century or early fourteenth-century collection of didactic diagrams from the Cistercian abbey of Kamp in western Germany. It is composed of eight folios of figures that, when found in combination, are often called the *Speculum theologiae*. A similar collection of *Speculum theologiae* diagrams can also be found in the Howard Psalter of *c.* 1310 (London, BL, MS Arundel 83 I, fol. 13^{r}; Saxl, 'A Spiritual Encyclopedia of the Later Middle Ages', pl. 28a); or later, in an early fifteenth-century manuscript of the Biblioteca Casanatense in Rome: ibid, pl. 27b. On the authorship and other extant manuscript examples of the *Speculum theologiae*, see Palmer and Rückert, 'Das "Lignum vitae" aus Bebenhausen', pp. 122–23 and n. 9.

[12] Saxl, 'A Spiritual Encyclopedia of the Later Middle Ages', p. 108.

[13] Only in the course of the fifteenth century did tree diagrams, such as the one accompanying Bonaventure's treatise, become more 'arboreal'. See the examples in Saxl, 'A Spiritual Encyclopedia of the Later Middle Ages', pls 27b and 28b.

[14] For examples, see O'Reilly, *Studies in the Iconography of the Vices and Virtues*, pp. 323–414. Mary Carruthers has pointed out that this flexibility in the arrangement of details is one of the characteristics of the medieval diagram which is 'an open-ended one; in the manner of examples, it is an invitation to elaborate and recompose, not a prescriptive, "objective" scheme': Carruthers, *The Book of Memory*, p. 336.

[15] See John of Damascus, *Exposition of the Orthodox Faith*, IV.11, vv. 2357 and 2367. According to the legendary tradition the wood of Christ's cross came from a seed from the Tree of Life growing in Paradise. Oakes, 'Cross'.

[16] See St Bonaventure, *Itinerarium mentis in Deum*, cap. IV. 2, p. 306: 'Necesse est igitur, si reintrare volumus ad fruitionem Veritatis tanquam ad paradisum, quod ingrediamur per fidem, spem et caritatem mediatoris Dei et hominum Iesu Christi, qui est tanquam lignum vitae in medio paradisi'.

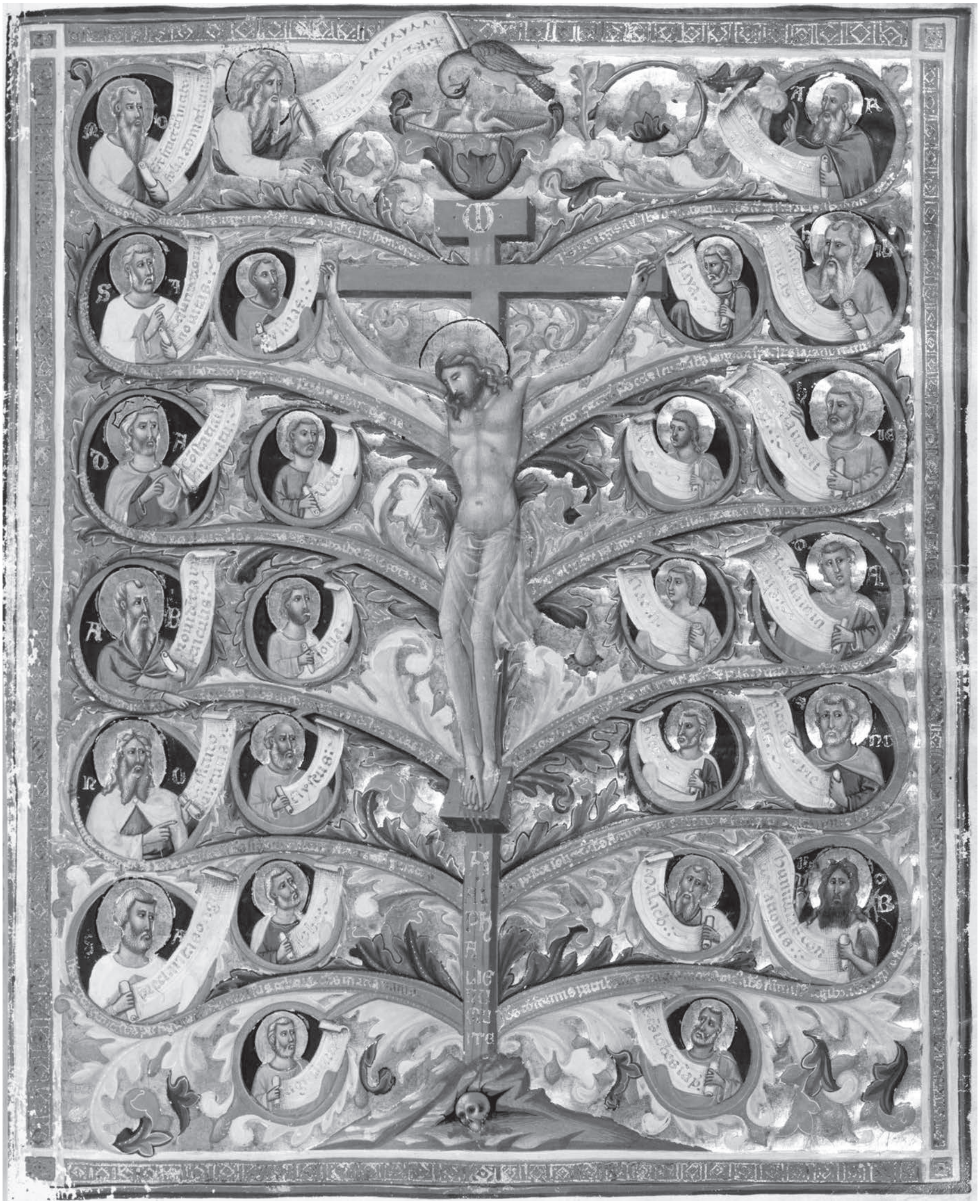

Figure 9.2. (Plate 3, p. xv) 'Tree of Life', Milan, Biblioteca Trivulziana, MS 2139, fol. 435ʳ. *c.* 1320–30. Photo courtesy of the Comune di Milano.

from its original manuscript setting and given a more autonomous status in monumental format. Although the Franciscan's original treatise was still clearly present as a subtext of *Lignum vitae* representations, by discarding the close rapport between text and image, the artists abandoned the arid diagrammatic representational mode, which permeated the earlier manuscript illustrations. As a consequence of the isolation from its textual setting and also of the more pictorial, more 'arboreal' rendering of the motif of the Tree of Life, the subject acquired new theological and ideological meaning.

The 'Arboreal' Lignum vitae *without its Textual Setting*

The *Lignum vitae* in the Church of San Giovenale in Orvieto represents a sort of 'missing link' between the early illustrative tradition represented by manuscripts circulating among a learned ecclesiastic audience and later versions in a more monumental format (see Figure 10.3). Unfortunately, the wall painting is in a sad state of disrepair. The parochial church of San Giovenale, which was not affiliated with the Franciscan Order, contains numerous mural paintings of private patronage, dating to the first two decades of the fourteenth century. The *Lignum vitae* fresco, which includes a donor figure, was part of a more comprehensive pictorial campaign. The unknown patron situated at the base of the tree was perhaps a member of a confraternity associated with San Giovenale.[17] As far as we can judge from its present state, the fresco constituted a literal visual transcription of the *Lignum vitae*: in fact it reproduces each of the four verses which serve as headings to the twelve chapters of the *Lignum vitae* in Bonaventure's text — a characteristic feature not found in later painted versions of the subject.

However, another better-known example for the migration of the *Lignum vitae* motif into monumental painting does exist. Pacino di Bonaguida, who worked primarily as a miniaturist, also painted versions of the *Lignum vitae* separated from its original textual format.[18] In the frontispiece of a splendidly illuminated Bible manuscript from the third decade of the fourteenth century,[19] he — or one of his collaborators — painted a much more ambitious, figurative version of what had been a diagrammatic transcription of the textual content of Bonaventure's *Lignum vitae* (Figure 9.2, also Plate 3). In the only full-page miniature of this Bible, Christ on the cross is surrounded by the leafy branches of a tree, which culminate in twenty-four roundels framing Old Testament prophets.[20] These figures are holding inscribed scrolls referring to the *tituli* of the twelve 'fruits' of the Bonaventuran treatise.

Pacino and his workshop were also responsible for one of the earliest surviving monumental versions of the same topic. His panel painting of the Tree of Life in the Accademia in Firenze is dated on the basis of stylistic evidence to *c.* 1310 (Figure 9.3).[21] The commission was received from the same Franciscan patrons who had previously employed him as a miniaturist on several occasions.[22] The painting was destined for the female Franciscan convent of Santa Maria a Monticelli located outside the city gate of San Frediano. The history and artistic patronage of this Florentine convent has never been thoroughly studied.[23] Its important role within the Franciscan Order can be deduced from its frequent relations with the community of San Damiano and Saint Clare. Saint Clare's sister, Saint Agnes of Assisi, lived in the Florentine convent between 1219 and 1253 and was its first abbess.[24] Life at the convent was modelled on the community of San Damiano, and the nuns of Monticelli enjoyed the same papal privilege of poverty, which guaranteed that they could continue to follow initial Franciscan ideals.[25] Not least, it also seems to have prospered as a spiritual retreat for Florentine noble women. After the Great Plague of 1348, however, it fell into steady decline.[26]

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[17] I would like to thank Pippa Salonius for bringing this wall painting to my attention; see also her article in this volume, '*Arbor Jesse – Lignum vitae*'. On the church of San Giovenale, its pictorial decoration, and the *Lignum vitae* fresco attributed to the workshop of the so-called Master of the Madonna di San Brizio, see Diviziani, 'Il "lignum vitae" di San Bonaventura', pp. 16–27; Bologna, *I pittori alla corte angioina di Napoli*, p. 129 (*c.* 1300). Donati, 'Inediti orvietani del Trecento', p. 5 (first two decades of the fourteenth century); Sensi, 'Allegoria della Croce', p. 299 (fourth decade of the fourteenth century); Sensi, 'Monasteri e conventi della Diocesi di Orvieto', p. 113, fig. 5 (beginning of the fourteenth century); Fratini, 'Pittura e miniatura ad Orvieto', pp. 468–69 (School of Orvietan painting, of the first two decades of the fourteenth century). On the presence of (flagellant) confraternities in San Giovenale, which may have stimulated the realization of the fresco, see Frank, *Bruderschaften im spätmittelalterlichen Kirchenstaat*, p. 258, n. 10, p. 262, n. 26.

[18] On the career of this artist, documented between 1303 and 1330, but probably active until *c.* 1350, see Offner, *A Critical and Historical Corpus*, II.1, 1–32; Offner, *A Critical and Historical Corpus*, vol. IX: *The Painters of the Miniaturist Tendency*, ed. by Boskovits and Gregori, pp. 48–53; Kanter, 'Pacino da Bonaguida'; Labriola, 'Pacino da Buonaguida'; Ciardi Duprè Dal Poggetto, 'La miniatura del Trecento in Italia Centrale', pp. 215–18; Pasut, 'Pacino di Bonaguida e le miniature della Divina Commedia', pp. 41–44.

[19] Milan, Biblioteca Trivulziana, MS 2139, fol. 435^r. The miniature is reproduced in Zanichelli, 'Pacino di Bonaguida', p. 28. On this manuscript, see Offner, *A Critical and Historical Corpus*, vol. VI, 218–20, pl. LXIIb; Offner, *A Critical and Historical Corpus*, vol. II: *Elder Contemporaries of Bernardo Daddi*, ed. by Boskovits, p. 52, n. 177; Bologna, *Splendori di sacre scritture dalla Trivulziana*; Spagnesi, 'Per il pacinesco Maestro della Bibbia Trivulziana', pp. 34–36. Like Offner, Spagnesi believed the manuscript to be executed for a lay person related to the Dominicans. Offner, *A Critical and Historical Corpus*, vol. VI, 219, n. 10; Spagnesi, 'Immagini della Bibbia Trivulziana', p. 126.

[20] An exception is the twenty-fifth roundel on the lower right showing St John the Baptist.

[21] On the Accademia panel (inv. 1890, no. 8459), see Offner, *A Critical and Historical Corpus*, vol. II.1, 8–9 and pls II–II14; Offner, *A Critical and Historical Corpus*, vol. VI, 122–35; Degenhart and Schmitt, *Corpus der italienischen Zeichnungen 1300–1450*, p. 22 (first decade of the fourteenth century); Bougerol, *San Bonaventura 1274–1974*, I, 34–35; Ciardi Duprè dal Poggetto, 'I francescani a Firenze', p. 246 (1315–20); Biagi, 'Pacino di Bonaguida'; Offner, *A Critical and Historical Corpus*, vol. IX: *The Painters of the Miniaturist Tendency*, ed. by Boskovits and Gregori, pp. 50–51 (first decade of the fourteenth century); Offner, *A Critical and Historical Corpus*,

The representation on the panel follows Bonaventure's text very closely.[27] It has been suggested that Ubertino da Casale's treatise *Arbor vitae crucifixae Jhesu Christi* also had an impact on its iconography, but this is debatable.[28] The main part of Pacino's panel, which is even more elaborate than his Bible miniature, shows Christ surrounded by forty-eight roundels. They illustrate exactly those events in the life of the Saviour that Bonaventure had referred to in his treatise. A logical and temporal extension of this narrative Passion cycle is introduced with the representation of the Creation, Temptation, and Expulsion of Adam and Eve at the bottom of the tree and the apparition of Mary and Christ enthroned together with the Last Judgement at the top. Both of these elements were mentioned by Bonaventure at the beginning and the end of his treatise.[29] Also anchored in the text are the figures of the prophets Ezekiel and Daniel who appear at the sides of the sacrificial pelican at the top of the tree. These prophets exemplify the patriarchs, judges, priests, kings, and prophets of the Old Testament who prefigured Christ's advent and are only summarily alluded to in Bonaventure's treatise.[30] While in this case, the painter elaborated on motifs from biblical history that were present in the *Lignum vitae*, he went even further and also made two significant additions

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vol. II: *Elder Contemporaries of Bernardo Daddi*, ed. by Boskovits and Gregori, pp. 82–121; Falletti and Anglani, *Galleria dell'Accademia*, p. 84–85 (1305–10); Boskovits and Tartuferi, *Dipinti*, cat. no. 38 (1310–15); with an up-to-date bibliography; Sensi, 'Allegoria della Croce', p. 292 (1305–10).

[22] During the first decade of the fourteenth century, Pacino had illuminated two antiphonaries for the Franciscans of Santa Croce. See Ciardi Duprè dal Poggetto, 'I francescani a Firenze', pp. 243–49. According to Boskovits, Pacino also designed some stained-glass windows for the convent of Santa Croce. Offner, *A Critical and Historical Corpus*, vol. IX: *The Painters of the Miniaturist Tendency*, ed. by Boskovits and Gregori, p. 51.

[23] Julian Gardner has briefly considered the two surviving fourteenth-century panel paintings of the Monticelli nunnery in their original context. Gardner, 'Nuns and Altarpieces', pp. 39, 52–55. On the Poor Clares at Monticelli, see Repetti, *Dizionario geografico*, III (1839), 565; Davidsohn, *Storia di Firenze*, II (1956), 172–74, 631; Wood, *Women, Art and Spirituality*, pp. 65–85.

[24] Wood, *Women, Art and Spirituality*, p. 66. Knox, *Creating Clare of Assisi*, p. 27.

[25] Knox, *Creating Clare of Assisi*, pp. 35, n. 102, 44, n. 155; Mueller, *A Companion to Clare of Assisi*, p. 87.

[26] Knox, *Creating Clare of Assisi*, pp. 146–48.

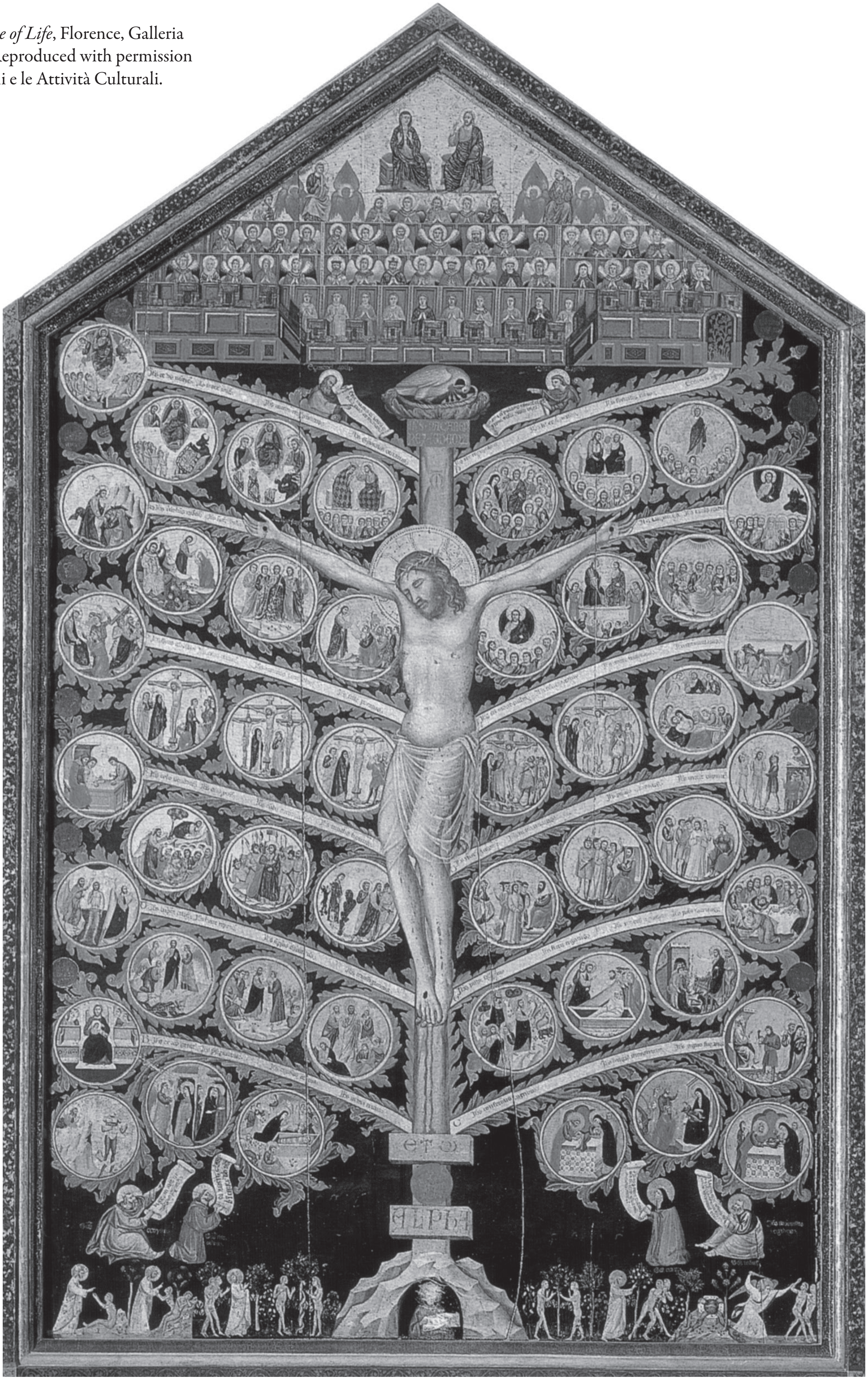
[27] The entire iconographic programme of the panel can be perfectly explained by referring to Bonaventure's *Lignum vitae* text. On this connection and the link of Pacino's panel painting to the spiritual practices of the Poor Clares, see Wood, *Women, Art and Spirituality*, pp. 72–85.

[28] Ubertino da Casale's treatise was written in 1305 and explored a topic similar to Bonaventure's *Lignum vitae*, from the point of view of the Franciscan spirituals. Ciardi Duprè dal Poggetto suggested a connection between Ubertino's treatise and Pacino's panel: Ciardi Duprè dal Poggetto, 'I francescani a Firenze', pp. 243–44. Ciardi Duprè dal Pogetto's argument is unclear insofar as her view of Pacino's panel as proof of a relationship between the Franciscan nuns at Monticelli and Ubertino da Casale is unsubstantiated. Ubertino da Casale was present in Firenze at Santa Croce around 1287, about twenty years prior to the realization of the panel painting, and at La Verna in 1305. However, we have no proof of any contact between the Monticelli nuns and Ubertino da Casale, and there was no evident sympathy harboured by the Monticelli community towards the Franciscan spirituals. Moreover, the iconography of Pacino's panel does not refer to any of the specific spiritual topics of Ubertino's *Arbor vitae*.

[29] Bonaventure, *Lignum vitae*, cap. 2 (St Bonaventure, *Decem opuscula ad theologiam mysticam spectantia*, p. 176): 'A principio quidem conditionis naturae, collocatis in paradiso parentibus primis, dehinc propter esum ligni vetiti per divini decreti severitatem expulses, superna misericordia non distulit hominem errabundum revocare ad poenitentiae viam, spem veniae dando per repromissum Salvatoris adventum'; and cap. 44 (p. 217): Mary and Christ appear as 'sponsa et sponsus'.

[30] Bonaventure, *Lignum vitae*, cap. 2 (St Bonaventure, *Decem opuscula ad theologiam mysticam spectantia*, p. 176): 'Fructus I: Et ne forte per ignorantiam et ingratitudinem tanta Dei dignatio nostrae saluti foret inefficax, in quinque saeculi huiuis aetatibus per Patriarchas, iudices, sacerdotes, reges et Prophetas […] Filii sui adventum praenuntiare, promettere ac praefigurare non destitit, ut per multa millia temporum et annorum magni set miris multiplicatis oracoli et intelligentias nostras ad fidem erigeretet et affectus […] inflammaret'.

Figure 9.3.
Pacino da Bonaguida, *Tree of Life*, Florence, Galleria dell'Accademia. *c*. 1310. Reproduced with permission of the Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali.



which have no corresponding passages in the textual version. He included the figure of Saint Francis seated to the right of Mary and Christ in Glory at the Last Judgement, expanding what so far had been a common eschatological scheme.[31] Also, on the lowest register, Saint Francis and Saint Clare are placed on either side of the tree, accompanied by Moses and Saint John the Evangelist.[32] Their inclusion may well have been motivated by the fact that both the veil of Saint Clare and the coat of Saint Francis had been given as relics to the nuns of the Monticelli convent.[33] In any case, with the presence of the two Franciscan founding figures Pacino gave the Tree of Life topic a new, propagandistic twist. In a similar manner to the thirteenth-century painted crosses related to Franciscan patronage, it was insinuated that the Franciscans occupied a preferred position in the history of salvation — although this suggestion may well have gone unnoticed here, given the number and small scale of the figures represented on the Monticelli panel.[34]

The Tree on the Wall and its Visual Argument: Taddeo Gaddi's Lignum vitae *in the Santa Croce Refectory*

That this iconographic innovation was a carefully considered move on the part of the Franciscan Order is suggested by a fresco painted by Taddeo Gaddi a few years later. In Gaddi's wall painting, the same idea is more prominently displayed, and again, as in the case of Pacino's panel, it does not seem to be by a mere coincidence that this ostentatious image addressed the members of a Franciscan community. Gaddi's fresco, conventionally named *Lignum vitae*, is in fact located on the western wall of the refectory in the Franciscan convent of Santa Croce in Florence (Figure 9.4) and dated to *c.* 1340.[35] The painter elaborated on the image of the Crucifixion traditionally displayed in refectories and chapter houses.[36] He painted a huge, flourishing tree firmly planted in the soil of paradise. Superimposed on this tree is the figure of the dead Christ hanging from the cross, framed by inscriptions and peopled leaf scrolls. The composition as a whole is summarized for the observer of the Santa Croce fresco on the tablet set high at the top of the tree. It is inscribed with a brief quotation compiled from Genesis (2. 9) and Apocalypse (22. 2)[37] which serves as a title for the whole composition: 'Lignum vitae in medio paradisi afferens fructus duodecim' (the Tree of Life in the middle of paradise, bearing twelve fruits).[38] The term *paradisum* here may have been understood as an allusion to the convent itself where the fresco was displayed.[39]

The iconographic tradition of the Tree of Life was only one source for Gaddi's fresco. A closer look reveals that it is also a very neat visual transcription of Bonaventure's *Lignum vitae*. In the fresco itself, this textual source is made evident for the observer by the presence of Saint Bonaventure at the bottom of the tree (Figure 9.5). On a slip of paper, he is shown writing the refrain 'O crux, fructex salvificus' (Oh Cross, salutary bearer of fruit), to be sung after each verse of his *Lignum vitae*.[40] Consequently, the Florentine fresco closely echoes the order devised for the text of the *Lignum vitae*. Twelve coloured roundels on either side of the trunk of the Tree of Life represent twelve different varieties of fruit. The inscriptions naming the fruit in these twelve roundels are quoted verbatim from Bonaventure's treatise.[41]

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[31] Offner, *A Critical and Historical Corpus*, vol. II.1, 8 and plate II14.

[32] Offner, *A Critical and Historical Corpus*, vol. II.1, 8 and plates II4–II5; Sensi, 'Allegoria della Croce', p. 293 erroneously identified the two figures as evangelists.

[33] Davidsohn, *Storia di Firenze*, II (1956), 174 and VII (1965), 116.

[34] For more on this argument, see note 70 in this article.

[35] The fresco, attributed by Vasari to Giotto, is today recognized as a work by Taddeo Gaddi. Moisè, *Santa Croce di Firenze*, pp. 297–98. Most scholars suggest a date between 1330 and 1340. Donati, *Taddeo Gaddi*, p. 39; Esmeijer, *Lignum vitae*, p. 18; Naldini and Nardini, eds, *Il complesso monumentale di Santa Croce*, pp. 339–40. An exception was Andrew Ladis whose proposal of *c.* 1360 for the date of the fresco has not been followed by current scholarship. After the great Arno flood of 1966, all of the frescoes on the western wall were removed for restoration. Ladis, *Taddeo Gaddi*, cat. no. 23; Baldini and Dal Poggetto, *Firenze restaura*, pp. 38, 104–08.

[36] On the typical pictorial decoration of the Crucifixion in refectories and chapter houses, see Blume, 'Ordenspolitik und Bildpolitik', p. 162. Stein-Kecks, *Der Kapitelsaal in der mittelalterlichen Klosterbaukunst*, esp. pp. 133–38, 192–93.

[37] These verses of Apocalypse had served Saint Bonaventure as a source of inspiration for the metaphorical language of his *Lignum vitae*. Bonaventure, *Lignum vitae*, *Prologus*, 3 (St Bonaventure, *Decem opuscula ad theologiam mysticam spectantia*, p. 170): 'Describe igitur in spiritu mentis tuae arborem quandam, cuius radix irrigetur fonte scaturitionis perpetuae, qui etiam escrescat in fluvium vivum et magnum, quatuor vide licet capitum, ad irrigandum totius Ecclesiae paradisum'.

[38] For the textual source, see note 6 in this article.

[39] On this parallel, see Stein-Kecks, *Der Kapitelsaal in der mittelalterlichen Klosterbaukunst*, pp. 105–06.

[40] Bonaventure, *Lignum vitae*, *Prologus*, 3 (St Bonaventure, *Decem opuscula ad theologiam mysticam spectantia*, p. 170).

[41] See note 6 in this article.

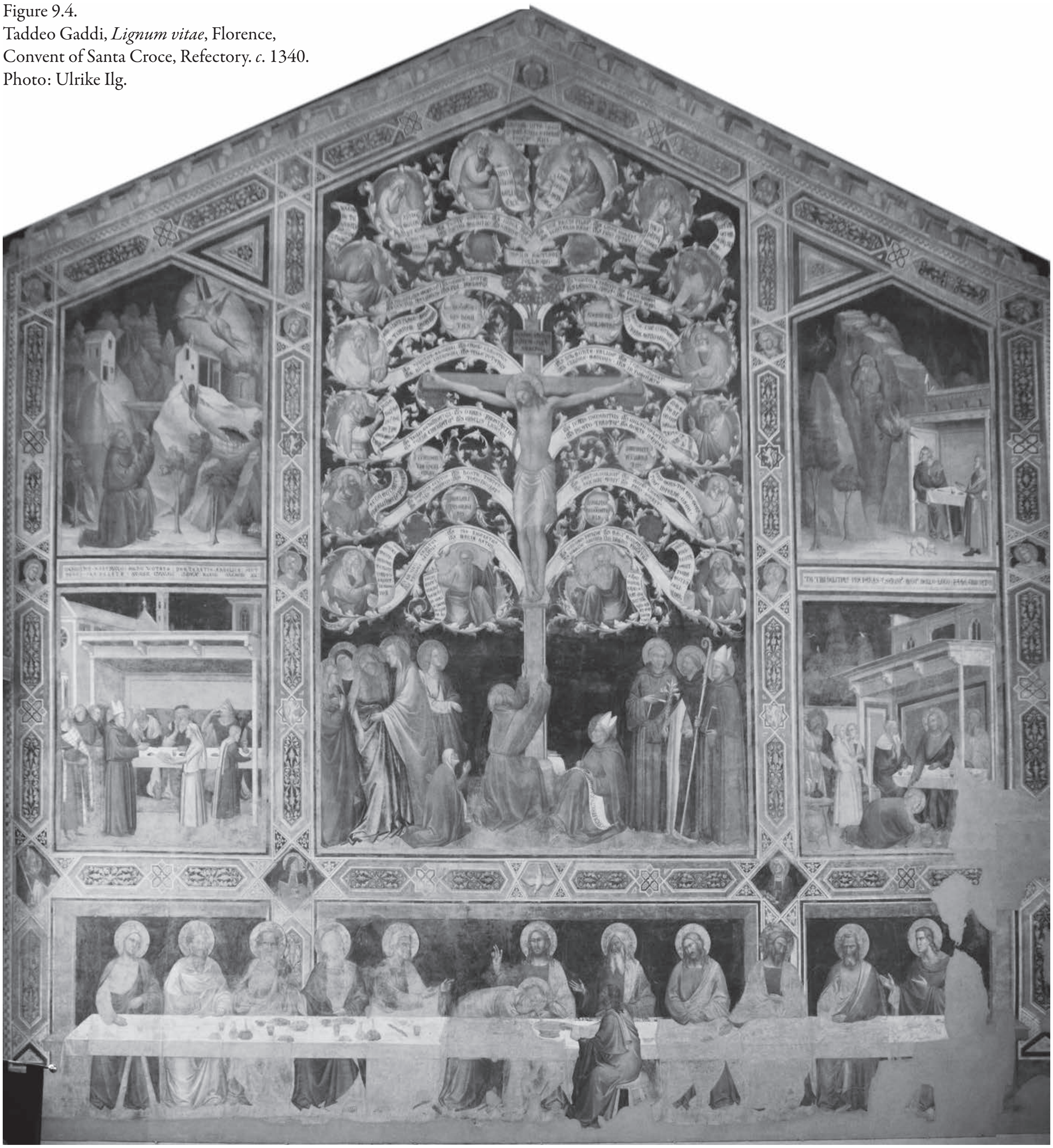

Figure 9.4.
Taddeo Gaddi, *Lignum vitae*, Florence,
Convent of Santa Croce, Refectory. *c.* 1340.
Photo: Ulrike Ilg.

As in the arboreal schemes of the illustrated *Lignum vitae* and *Speculum theologiae* manuscripts, the theme of Christ's prefiguration — which Bonaventure had only hinted at in his text — becomes more elaborate in Gaddi's visual rendering of the tree: the painter included supplemental figures which he placed at the end of each branch. He also added the eleven prophets and patriarchs Job, Malachi, David, Zechariah, Ezekiel, Jeremiah, Moses, Isaiah, Joel, Abdias, and Hosea, each holding a scroll foretelling Christ's advent (Figure 9.6).[42]

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[42] A transcription of the texts on these scrolls can be found in Ladis, *Taddeo Gaddi*, p. 172.

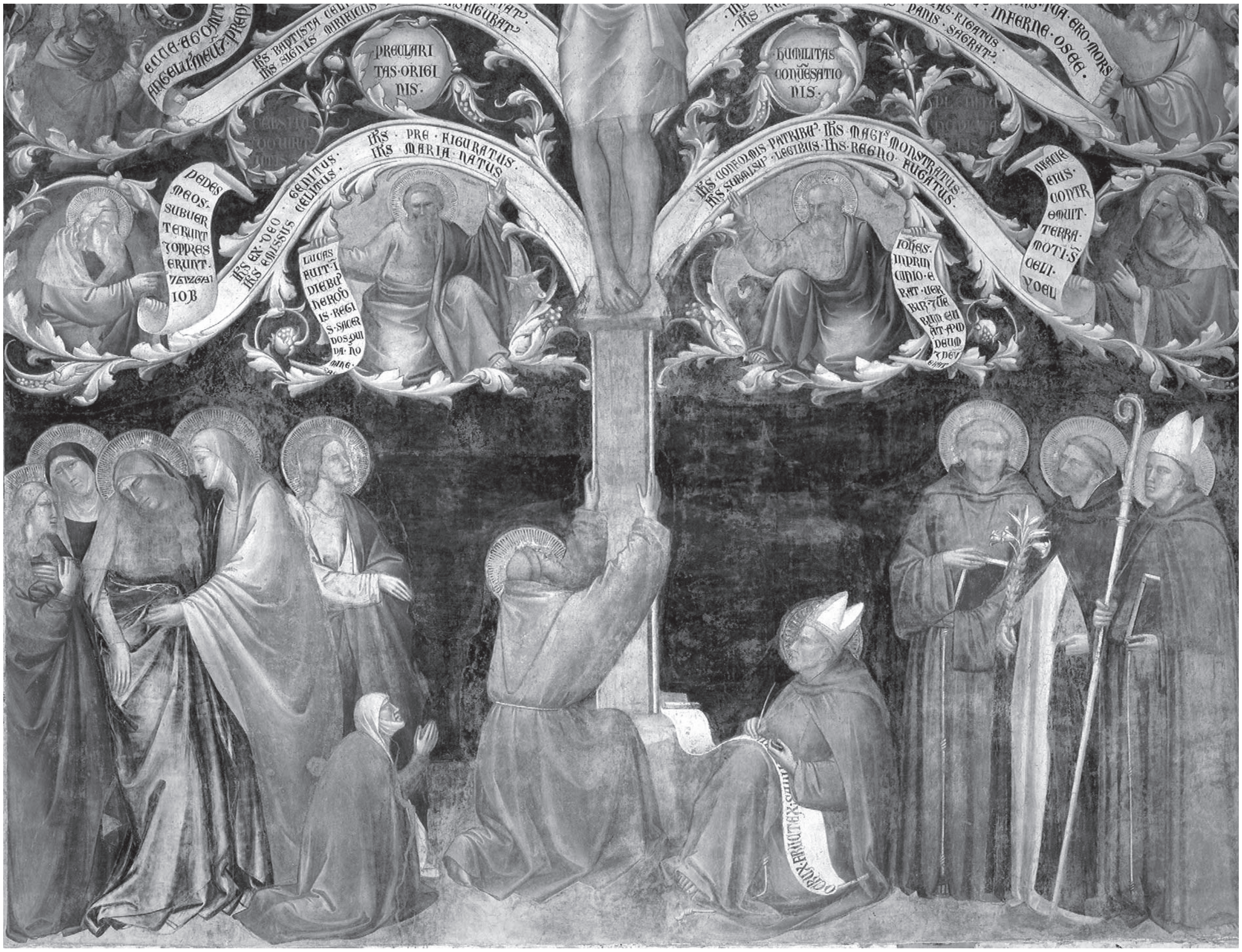

Figure 9.5. ‘Saint Francis embracing the Cross’, Taddeo Gaddi, detail of *Lignum vitae*, Florence, Convent of Santa Croce, Refectory. *c.* 1340. Reproduced with permission of the Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali.

The curious repetition of the prophet Joel on the right side of the tree suggests that the iconography was not specifically designed by a ‘master designer’ and theologian of the Santa Croce convent, but that the painter was given a pre-existing (manuscript) model which either already contained this error or lacked the exact number of figures Gaddi required to give his tree a symmetrical aspect.[43] The persistent impact of the earlier manuscript tradition of schematic, non-naturalistic tree diagrams is further emphasized by the fact that the Florentine fresco still relies heavily on scrolls of text as a device to convey its meaning. This is particularly clear in the central section where quotations from Bonaventure’s *Lignum vitae* are branching out from the tree trunk (Figure 9.6). There, unlike in the rest of Gaddi’s Trees of Life, the white bands of text were not transformed into organically growing matter. Instead, in accordance with the miniature tradition of the motif, the tree’s branches are represented as flat, visually undefined elements, rather characteristic of diagrammatic inscriptions. They are connected to the organic matter of the tree with the help of the small leafy branches that frame them.

The Tree, the Saints, and the Eucharist

The concept of symmetry pervades the entire *Lignum vitae* fresco (Figures 9.4 and 9.5). It dictated the inclusion of the two roundels with the evangelists Saint Mark and Saint Matthew at the top and Saint Luke and Saint John at the bottom of the tree, as well as the place-

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[43] One such manuscript is the Trivulzio Bible, where the figure of Isaiah appears twice in the peopled scrolls (see note 19 in this article and Offner, *A Critical and Historical Corpus*, vol. vi, 218, n. 10).

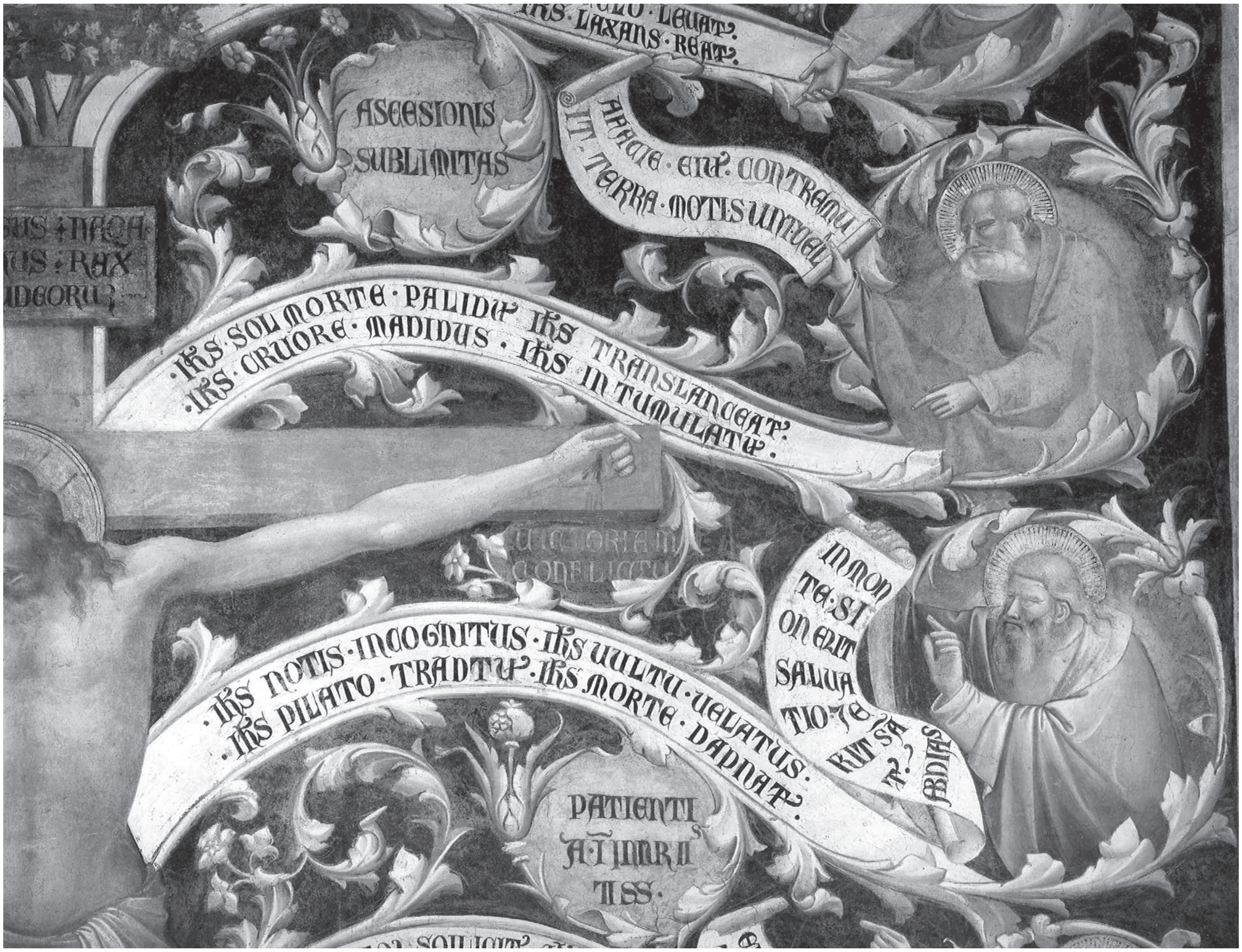
IHS LAXANS · REAT ·
ASCESIONIS
SUBLIMITAS
IHS SOL MORTE · PALIDUS · IHS TRANSLANCEAT ·
· IHS · CRUORE · MADIDUS · IHS IN TUMULATUS ·
IHS NOTIS · INCOGNITUS · IHS UULTU · UELATUS ·
· IHS PILATO · TRADITUS · IHS MORTE · DAPNAT ·
PATIENTI
A T IMMR II
TISS ·

Figure 9.6. 'Peopled scrolls, etc.', Taddeo Gaddi, detail of *Lignum vitae*, Florence, Convent of Santa Croce, refectory. *c.* 1340. Reproduced with permission of the Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali.

ment of the spectators standing at both sides below it. Compared with Pacino's panel, Gaddi placed stronger emphasis on the more recent past and the present: he did not elaborate on the Passion for the eyes of the beholder, but rather constructed an extended time frame around the event of the Crucifixion. With Christ on the cross as the point of reference for each of the protagonists, the historical continuum now runs from the twelve lateral Old Testament figures foretelling Christ's sacrifice to his followers at the lower right who were, according to the Gospels, witnesses of the Crucifixion. From there, the temporal axis is continued with the four evangelists testifying the event to posterity, and finally the group of friars below the cross, left of the trunk of the tree (Figure 9.5). Saint Francis is granted the privileged position of Mary Magdalene embracing the base of the cross, while the female saint is now relegated to the role of mere observer. Further witnesses of the Crucifixion include a small donor figure echoing the pose of Saint Francis (on the left-hand side); Saint Bonaventure himself is shown seated in the act of writing down his treatise *Lignum vitae*, which he authored with the declared intention to stimulate contemplation of the Crucifixion;[44] behind him stand Saint Anthony of Padua together with Saint Thomas Aquinas and Saint Louis of Toulouse.

All these saints can either be associated with the topic of the Crucifixion or were particularly venerated within the Franciscan Order. It is noteworthy that the Franciscan saints — Francis, Bonaventure, and Anthony — are privileged by their proximity to the cross. Saint Thomas Aquinas considered Christ's death on the cross an *exemplum virtutis* (model of virtue),[45] and according to Thomas's biographers he particularly venerated the cross.[46] More precisely, his figure seems to be connected with the institution of the Eucharist. Gaddi's fresco refers to Holy Communion not only in its image of the Crucifixion, but also in the metaphoric language of the Tree of Life — which according to Bonaventure's treatise was laden with twelve fruits to be savoured by the beholder — and finally in the scene of the Last Supper shown beneath the *Lignum vitae*. According to his first biographer William of Tocco, Thomas Aquinas had been praised by Christ on the cross, with the following words: 'Bene scripsisti de me, Thome' (You wrote well of me, Thomas). After this incident, the Dominican started to write the third part of the *Summa theologica*, which was centred on discussion of the Eucharist. In a later moment of his life, the saint was again addressed by Christ on the cross who said: 'Bene de hoc mei corporis sacramento scripsisti' (You wrote well about the sacrament of my body).[47] Finally, this association of Thomas Aquinas with the Eucharist is strengthened by the fact that he was purported to be the author of the Office of the Corpus Christi.[48]

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[44] Bonaventure, *Lignum vitae*, *Prologus*, 1 (St Bonaventure, *Decem opuscula ad theologiam mysticam spectantia*, p. 168).

Saint Anthony of Padua and Saint Louis of Toulouse also figure prominently in the convent of Santa Croce. Not only are they depicted in Gaddi's fresco, but two chapels are dedicated to them in the transept of the church of Santa Croce.[49] Saint Louis was famous for his exceptional piety and became the patron saint of the Franciscan Tertiaries. In the period the fresco was executed, his cult was probably at the height of its popularity, given the fact that he was canonized in 1317 and a Mass in his honour was added to the Franciscan Breviary by a general chapter in 1343.[50] Moreover, his appearance may well have been a specific assignment by the donor of the fresco, an elderly woman kneeling in adoration at the foot of the cross, wearing the habit and white veil of the Third Franciscan Order. She was possibly a member of the Florentine family Manfredi, although her precise identity remains uncertain.[51] The Tertiaries were admitted to the order after a probation period of one year and were obliged to live humbly in emulation of the founder of their order. They strictly observed the obligations of fasting and were expected to take the Eucharist at least three times a year. In Santa Croce, the Compagnia del Terz'Ordine Francescano is thought to have been founded in the middle of the thirteenth century by Beata Umiliana de' Cerchi.[52] Unfortunately, it is unclear which part of the church the Tertiaries used until 1439, after which they met in the Cappella dei Castellani d'Altafronte at the rear of the right church transept.

In any case, the female donor shown in the *Lignum vitae* is very likely a member of the Santa Croce confraternity.[53] This assumed female patronage of the fresco is corroborated by its distinct emphasis on saints important to women. The three medallions on the decorative frame that horizontally separates the *Lignum vitae* scene from that of the Last Supper show the busts of Saint Nicholas, Saint Clare, and Saint Elisabeth of Hungary.[54] Saint Nicholas was commonly invoked as protector of children and adolescents, a social group to which the female Tertiaries typically dedicated their charitable activities.[55] Saint Clare was the founder of the 'Second Order', the female branch of Franciscans, and hence is shown wearing the black veil of the Franciscan nuns.[56] Saint Elisabeth, who had been canonized immediately after her death in 1235, was generally considered to be the Franciscan Order's first female Tertiary.[57] The combination of these two saints is characteristic of other works of art commissioned by female members of the Third Order of the Franciscans.[58]

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[45] Thomas Aquinas, *Expositio in symbolum Apostolorum*, art. 4: 'Nullum enim exemplum virtutis abest a cruce' ('No example of any virtue is missing from the cross'). For Thomas's thoughts on Christ on the cross, see Biffi, 'La croce e la teologia scholastica', pp. 362–63.

[46] Torrell, *Le Mystère du Christ chez Thomas d'Aquin*, p. 179.

[47] Gulielmus, *Ystoria sancti*, ed. by Le Brun-Gouanvic, chap. 34, p. 162 and chap. 52, p. 189.

[48] Fineschi, *Della festa e della processione del Corpus Domini in Firenze*, pp. 9–10, 43, 46–47; Mazza, *The Celebration of the Eucharist*, p. 201; Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, pp. 185–96. It is not clear whether the fresco is related to the cult of the Corpus Domini, introduced in Santa Maria Novella by the late thirteenth century and celebrated in Firenze with a public procession after 1311; Fineschi, *Della festa e della processione del Corpus Domini in Firenze*, pp. 10–13. Very little is known about its early iconography. Polzer, 'Andrea di Bonaiuto's *Via Veritatis*', p. 262.

[49] In the early fifteenth century, the chapel of Saint Anthony (third on the left of the main choir chapel) was owned by the Ricasoli, and the chapel of Saint Louis at the rear of the left transept was owned by the Bardi di Vernio. Mencherini, *Santa Croce di Firenze*, pp. 23, 30, 31; Hueck, 'Stifter und Patronatsrecht', pp. 265–68.

[50] On this office, see Toynbee, *S. Louis of Toulouse*, p. 205, n. 3; Collegium S Bonaventuras, *Analecta Franciscana*, p. 539.

[51] On the difference between the habit of the Franciscan nuns and the Tertiaries, see Gilbert, 'Nascita e crescita di un politico', p. 80.

[52] On the brotherhood dissolved in 1785 and its chapel inside Santa Croce, see Davidsohn, *Storia di Firenze*, II, 182–88. Florence, Bib. Naz. Centrale di Firenze, Sepoltuario Cirri, II, Num. 146; Mencherini, *Santa Croce di Firenze*, pp. 54, 56–57. The donation by Michele di Vanni di F. Lotto Castellani for the erection of a chapel dates from 1383 and the earliest documentation of its monuments and patrons are in Firenze, Archivio di Stato di Firenze, MS 618. Mencherini, *Santa Croce di Firenze*, p. 27.

[53] The coat of arms, a white rampant lion on a red shield, does not appear anywhere else in the documented tombs and monuments of Santa Croce (Florence, Bib. Naz. Centrale di Firenze, Sepoltuario Cirri, II). The motif was unknown to the heraldic specialist Alfredo Cirri (ibid, no. 1915) and did not belong to any of the known Florentine families (see the heraldic collection in Florence, Bib. Naz. Centrale di Firenze, MS Passerini 4). Andrew Ladis identified the coat of arms as that of the Manfredi family and pointed out that inside the Church of Santa Croce there is a stone marker paid for by the heirs of Filippo Manfredi, whose wife died on 10 November 1345 (Florence, Archivio di Stato di Firenze, MS 624, Sepoltuario Rosselli, fols 384, 849). Unfortunately, there are no conclusive elements leading to an identification of the Franciscan tertiary donor represented on this fresco with Manfredi's wife. Ladis, *Taddeo Gaddi*, p. 173.

The chronological sequence arranged by Gaddi around the central image of Christ on the cross does not end with the thirteenth-century representatives of the mendicant order included in the fresco. The temporal continuum of the representation was indeed extended to the present with the help of its metaphorical language referring to the acts of eating and feeding.[59] Allusions to the nourishment of the human soul had already dominated Bonaventure's treatise (Figure 9.4).[60] Very much in line with Bonaventure's argument, the fresco alludes to the Holy Communion:[61] in Gaddi's *Tree of Life* blood is gushing out of Christ's side wound, and although nobody stands ready to collect it, the blood does not spill onto the soil.[62]

The painter also added a pelican to the top of the cross. This motif, unmentioned in the *Lignum vitae* text, already occurs in the manuscript tradition (Figure 9.1). In fact, illuminated manuscripts showing a pelican nurturing its young at the top of the Bonaventuran tree appear regularly from the late thirteenth century on.[63] In the case of Gaddi's fresco, the detail served to emphasize the symbolic meaning of the Crucifixion, that is, the link between the sacrificial bleeding of Christ and the symbolic nourishment served during Mass.

The institution of the Eucharist was associated with the charitable distribution of the actual food represented in three of the four narrative scenes at the sides of the *Lignum vitae*.[64] Even more straightforward was the meaning behind the juxtaposition of the Bonaventuran Tree of Life with Christ on the cross, and the Last Supper below (Figure 9.4).[65] In the Last Supper, the allusion to the Eucharist is of course evident, but at the same time the painter has endeavoured to make the figures stand out as realistically as possible. Christ and the apostles appear as life-size figures, seated in front of three painted, illusionistic niches and the long dining table, which seems to protrude into real space at its ends. Pictorial space and actual space are thus intimately connected.[66] The viewer is prompted to read the *Tree of Life* fresco as a painted image located on the wall, with the apostles seated in flesh and blood in front of it. As the friars' dining tables were probably situated along the refectory walls, they would have felt included in the scene. The privileged friars seated along the western wall found themselves dining at the feet of Christ and the apostles — and appeared in this position for the whole community that faced the

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[54] A fourth medallion at the extreme right is lost.

[55] See the corresponding comment of Gilbert, 'Nascita e crescita di un politico', p. 80.

[56] See Kaftal, *Saints in Italian Art*, no. 69.

[57] Lightbown, *Piero della Francesca*, p. 222.

[58] A later example offering very strong iconographic similarities is Pietro della Francesca's altarpiece (*c.* 1468/69) for the female Tertiary convent of Sant'Antonio at Perugia. Lightbown, *Piero della Francesca*, pp. 218–22; Gilbert, 'Nascita e crescita di un politico', p. 82; Apa, 'Le immagini dei miracoli', p. 95.

[59] Caroline Walker Bynum pointed out the significance of food and nourishing within (especially female) religious communities. Bynum, *Holy Feast and Holy Fast*.

[60] There, not only the metaphor of the fruit is recurrent, but also the reference to eating, taste, and nutrition (see especially Bonaventure, *Lignum vitae*, *Prologus*, 2–4).

[61] On the importance of the Eucharist in late medieval piety, see Rubin, *Corpus Christi*.

[62] Gaddi did not revert here to the highly realistic artistic language his master Giotto had applied to his representations of the Crucifixion in the Arena chapel or in the lower church of Assisi, where angels busily collect the blood of Christ in a chalice (compare the corresponding detail in his frescoes in the lower church of San Francesco, Assisi, in the Arena chapel and his Crucifixion panels in the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Gemäldegalerie and in Strasbourg, Musée des Beaux-Arts).

[63] The addition of a pelican nurturing his young can already be found in the early manuscript illustrations based on Bonaventure's *Lignum vitae*. Inscriptions interpreting this detail as a demonstration of piety in reference to Christ's sacrifice were also regularly added. Corresponding Bonaventuran trees can be found in the Darmstadt manuscript (note 10 of this article) and the manuscripts indicated in note 11 of this article.

[64] These scenes show (from top left to right reading downwards) the Stigmatization of Saint Francis, Saint Louis Distributing Food to the Poor, God Advises a Priest to Take Food to the Starving Saint Benedict, and Jesus Dining at the House of the Pharisean Simon.

[65] Paatz, *Die Kirchen von Florenz*, I (1940), 582; Esmeijer, *L'albero della vita di Taddeo Gaddi*, p. 13.

[66] The illusionistic effects of the representation have been analysed in detail by Esmeijer, *L'albero della vita di Taddeo Gaddi*, pp. 5–6.

Last Supper. They were all visually reminded that while eating inside the refectory their actions emulated those of the apostolic community.[67]

The Santa Croce fresco stands out in its artistic quality and in the complexity of its content among an entire series of arboreal representations inspired by Bonaventure in fourteenth- and fifteenth-century wall painting.[68] The motif of the *Lignum vitae* reached the height of its diffusion in Italy between 1320 and 1360, after which it was only rarely represented and completely disappeared from miniature and monumental painting after the fifteenth century.[69] What marks Taddeo Gaddi's *Lignum vitae* is its focus on the pre-eminent place of the Franciscan Order in the history of salvation. The *Lignum vitae* in Santa Croce is the first documented example whose location inside the convent — the refectory — reflects the centrality of its theme(s) for the convent. What is remarkable and in fact unique is the time span covered by Gaddi's fresco, which extends from the Old Testament prophets to the past and present members of the Franciscan Order.

Franciscan Ideology in the Santa Croce Lignum vitae *and its Florentine Adaptations*

As stated above, the fact that in Santa Croce the Franciscans inserted prominent members of their order into the *Lignum vitae* scheme is a clear attempt to emphasize the particular vicinity to the Saviour enjoyed by the order and its apostolic nature. Other elements in Gaddi's representation, which confirm this interpretation, are the Stigmatization and the gesture of Saint Francis embracing the Cross (Figure 9.5).[70] More subtle perhaps than the inclusion of these two narrative details, which were regularly represented in Franciscan contexts at that time, was the idea of using the symmetry of the tree image for this same programmatic statement. The painter in fact suggested that the tree could be read not only vertically following its natural growth, but also horizontally: he arranged the sequence of Bonaventuran fruits horizontally along the branches, from left to right, from bottom to top. The corresponding colours of the roundels appended on both sides of the tree led to the impression that its two symmetrical halves were meant to mirror each other. As a consequence, the viewer was led to believe that this correspondence also applied to the two groups of figures facing each other at the base of the cross. There, the Mendicants, most of them Franciscans, are standing level with Christ's followers. No distinction in rank and importance is made between them.

Creating parallelisms between long-venerated figures of Christian history and members of the recently founded Franciscan Order was a consistent visual strategy of the Franciscan Order. An example corroborating this thesis is the late thirteenth-century apse mosaic in the Roman church of Santa Maria Maggiore, which eloquently illustrates an earlier stage of this strategy (Figure 9.7). Executed between 1288 and 1295 on behalf of the Franciscan Pope Nicholas IV (1288–92), its main theme is the *Coronation of the Virgin*.[71] There, as in the Florentine fresco, important members of the Franciscan Order were included in the representation witnessing the event. Behind Saints Peter and Paul, Saint Francis appears, while Saint Anthony, his counterpart, is represented on the opposite side behind Saints John the Baptist and John the Evangelist. Only their slightly smaller scale determines the two Franciscans as more recent figures and indicates their inferior rank in comparison to the biblical saints.[72]

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[67] On this intentional parallelism between the 'painted people and their observers performing the same actions' in the pictorial decoration of conventual refectories, see Gilbert, 'Last Suppers and their Refectories'; Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, p. 300. The metaphorical language related to the act of eating and to both the actual and spiritual nourishment of mankind, which pervades Bonaventure's treatise, is extended from the central axis of the fresco to its lateral compartments depicting dining scenes. The scene at the bottom left shows Saint Louis of Toulouse distributing food to the poor, on the right two episodes show the angel ordering a priest seated for Easter dinner to take some food to the fasting Saint Benedict (top) and Christ seated for dinner at the house of the Pharisee and forgiving a female sinner (Luke 7. 37–50).

[68] An incomplete census of these representations can be found in Offner, *A Critical and Historical Corpus*, vol. II.1, 132–33; Bougerol, *San Bonaventura 1274–1974*, pp. 34–39; Sensi, 'Allegoria della Croce', pp. 291–306; Palmer and Rückert, 'Das "Lignum vitae" aus Bebenhausen', pp. 121–22.

[69] Offner, *A Critical and Historical Corpus*, vol. II.1, 117; Sensi, 'Allegoria della Croce', p. 304.

[70] On the first examples of this iconography, see Lunghi, 'La decorazione pittorica della chiesa', pp. 151–55, 160–61. For further crosses with a similar 'Franciscan' accent to their iconography, see Garibaldi, *Galleria Nazionale dell'Umbria*, pp. 14, 22.

[71] Gardner, 'Pope Nicholas IV and the Decoration of Santa Maria Maggiore', pp. 1–12; Righetti Tosti-Croce, 'La basilica tra Due e Trecento'; Tomei, *Jacobus Torriti Pictor*, pp. 99–117; Saxer, *Sainte-Marie-Majeure*.

[72] On the difference in scale, see Tomei, *Jacobus Torriti Pictor*, p. 109; Galeotti, *La basilica patriarcale di Santa Maria Maggiore*, p. 52.

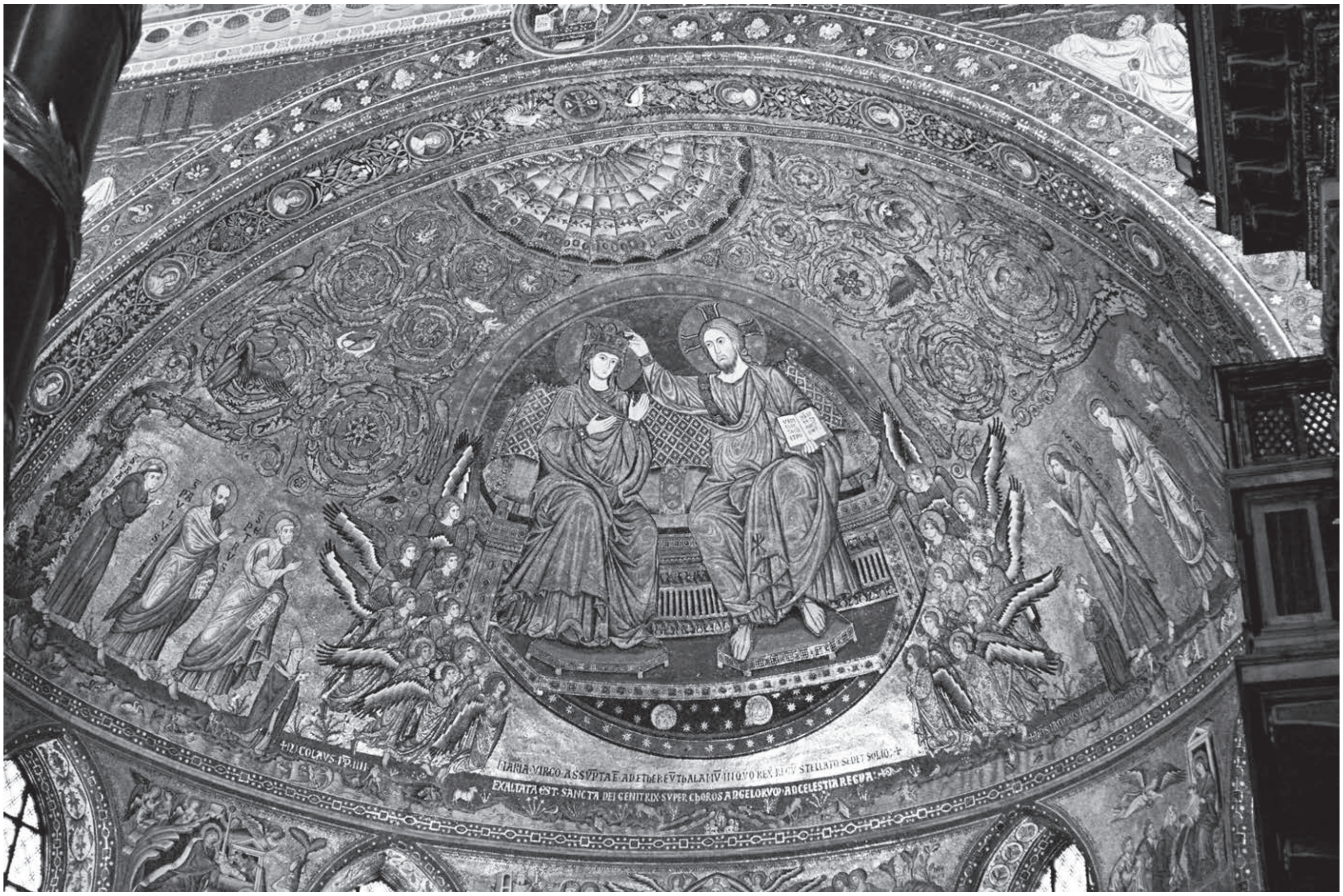
NICOLAVS PP IIII
MARIA VIRGO ASSVPTA EST AD ETHEREVM THALAMVM IN QVO REX REGVM STELLATO SEDET SOLIO
EXALTATA EST SANCTA DEI GENITRIX SVPER CHOROS ANGELORVM AD CELESTIA REGNA

Figure 9.7. Jacopo Torriti, *Coronation of the Virgin*, Rome, Santa Maria Maggiore. 1288–95.
Photo Ulrike Ilg, reproduced with permission of the church of Santa Maria Maggiore.

In both the Roman mosaic and the Florentine fresco the Franciscans chose the same operational mode to express their point. They reverted to a time-honoured visual formula and diverted it in a direction that was appropriate for their own intentions. In the case of the Santa Croce fresco created *c*. 1340 the eagerness of the order to voice its own importance inside the institutional Church may have a specific motivation. At that time, the Franciscans felt the need to stress the legitimacy of their apostolic approach because of their recent conflict with Pope John XXII (1316–34), who strongly opposed the Franciscan idea of the poverty of Christ and the Apostles, and the resulting postulate of the poverty of the institutional Church.[73]

This specific situation might have contributed to the choice of the fresco's location in the refectory, where its message reached the entire community. But Gaddi's fresco set a standard for the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. In fact, during that period, in numerous other Franciscan convents the *Lignum vitae* was similarly displayed on the walls of common rooms where the entire congregation gathered. In San Francesco in Gubbio, for example, an unfinished fresco of the *Lignum vitae* dating to the first half of the fourteenth century can still be found in the refectory.[74] In the convent of the Franciscan Tertiaries of Sant'Anna in Foligno,[75] founded in the late fourteenth century, a *Lignum vitae* of *c*. 1420–30 decorates the walls of a room next to the refectory,[76] which

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[73] On this conflict, see Horst, *Evangelische Armut und päpstliches Lehramt*; Miethke, 'Paradiesischer Zustand'. On the concomitant birth of propagandistic imagery inside Franciscan convents which served to underline the legitimacy and orthodoxy of the Franciscan approach to conventual life, see Blume, 'Ordenspolitik und Bildpolitik', pp. 153–64.

[74] Rughi, *Gubbio*, p. 10; Rosati, *La chiesa di San Francesco*, p. 85; Sensi, 'Allegoria della Croce', pp. 297–98.

[75] See the monographic study by Sensi, 'Allegoria della Croce', pp. 281–319.

[76] Nucciarelli, 'Il Parco di Colfiorito', p. 62 and fig. 24.

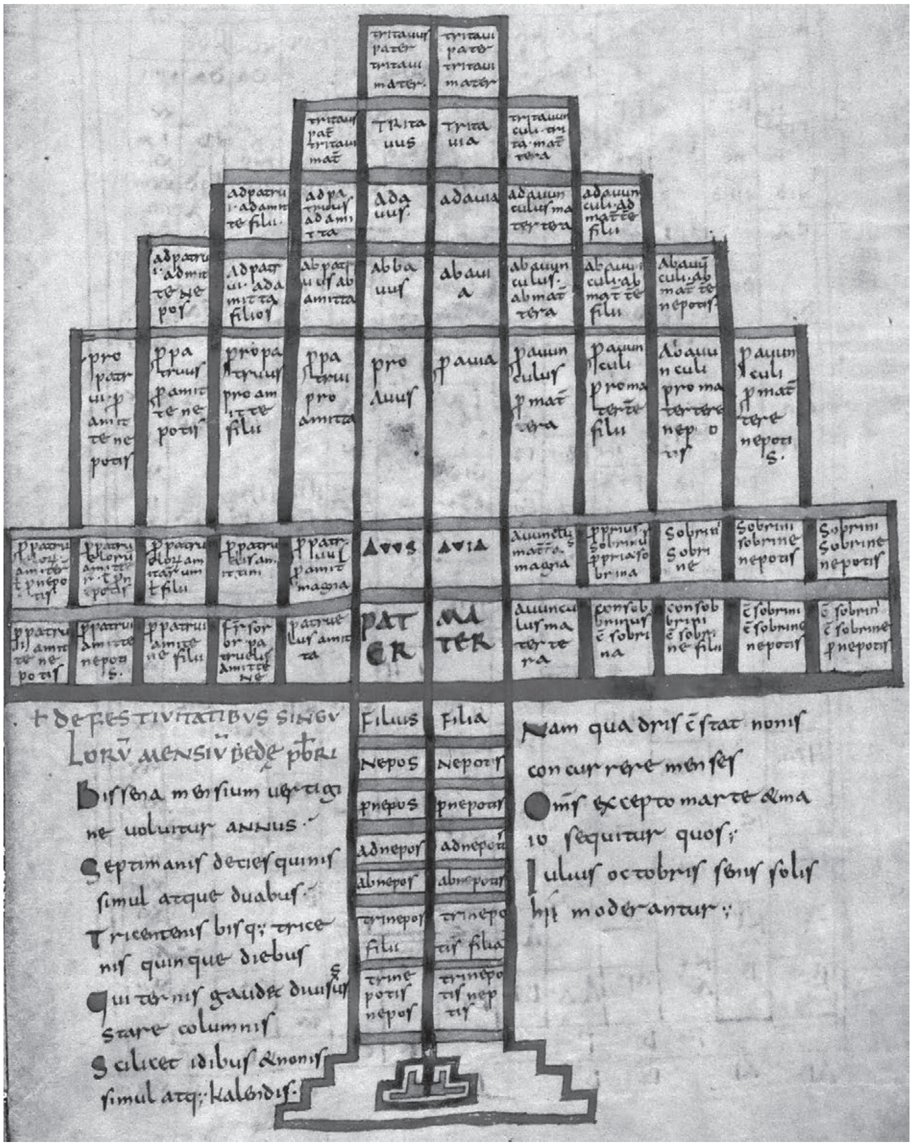

Figure 9.8.
'Tree of Consanguinity', Angers, Bibliothèque municipale, Rés. MS 476, fol. 57^r. Tenth or eleventh century.
Photo courtesy of the CNRS-IRHT.

itself was painted with narrative biblical scenes centred on the preparation and consumption of food, including the Last Supper.[77]

This tendency to treat the *Lignum vitae* and the Last Supper as separate subjects is also evident in the late fourteenth-century frescoes at the Franciscan convent of Pistoia. There, the Bonaventuran tree image is located in the chapter house, hence, without the scene of the Last Supper.[78] This example demonstrates how the representation migrated to a different spatial context but still served as a visual aid for the spiritual instruction of the brethren, imprinting on them the idealized self-image of their order.[79]

The marked temporal axis of Pacino da Bonaguida's and Gaddi's *Lignum vitae* trees discussed above encourage the comparison with other arboreal diagrams such as *arbores affinitatis* or *arbores consanguinitatis* (Trees of Affinity and Trees of Consanguinity). These genealogical tree diagrams, though of earlier origin, appear

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[77] Nucciarelli, 'Il Parco di Colfiorito', p. 62 and figs 18–20.

[78] On these frescoes, dating to after 1386, see Bougerol, *San Bonaventura 1274–1974*, pp. 37–39; Lusanna, 'La pittura in San Francesco', p. 110–54; Stein-Kecks, *Der Kapitelsaal in der mittelalterlichen Klosterbaukunst*, pp. 295–300; Sensi, 'Allegoria della Croce', p. 303.

[79] The Franciscans also used their chapter houses for various pastoral activities such as hearing confessions. Hence a chapter house was a potentially public place and its programmatic decoration addressed the community of the convent itself as well as a lay audience.

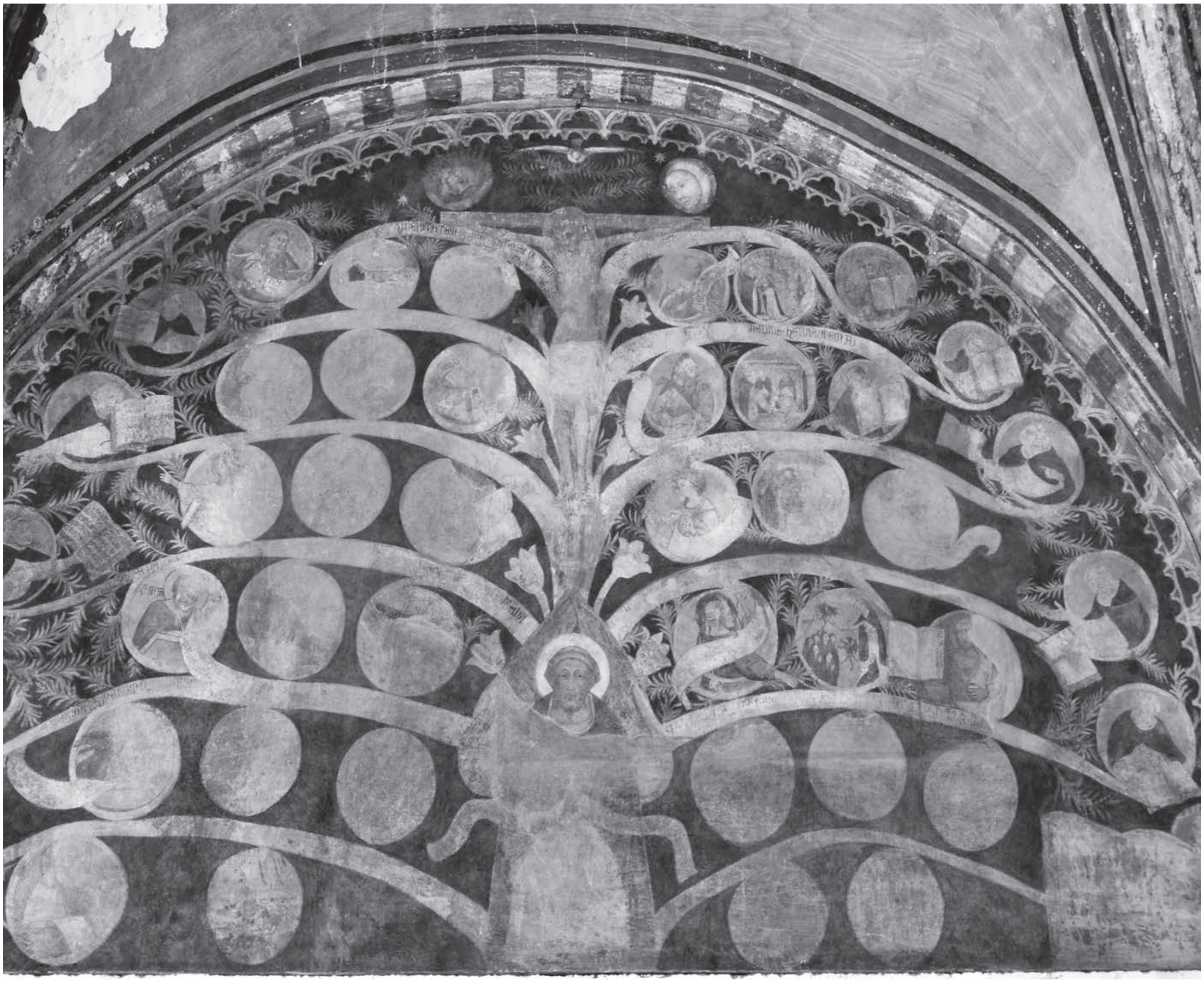

Figure 9.9. Master of the Dominican Effigies, *Lignum vitae*, Florence, Convent of Santa Maria Novella, *Chiostro verde*. *c.* 1360–70. Photo: Ulrike Ilg.

frequently in twelfth- and thirteenth-century juridical, historic, and exegetical literature to facilitate the understanding of blood relations, and parental relationships (Figure 9.8).[80] Like the *Lignum vitae* depictions of Pacino and Gaddi, the juridical arboreal schemes are organized around one — often imagined — focal figure (*ego*). The ancestors are arranged in chronological order from the base upwards in a manner similar to the branches of a tree with the sequence of descendants and prospective heirs forming the stem. Considering that genealogical thinking was one of the basic mental structures of the Middle Ages, it does not seem too far-fetched to interpret the inclusion of a number of prominent Franciscans at the bottom of the Bonaventuran tree image in a quasi-genealogical sense (Figure 9.5).[81] Its layout alludes to the proximity of spirit between the Franciscans and Christ represented at the centre of the *Lignum vitae*. This idea, most prominently displayed in the case of the Santa Croce fresco, was by no means new. In contemporary Franciscan literature such a proximity of spirit is expressed by the constant likening of Saint

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[80] On Trees of Consanguinity, see Schadt, *Die Darstellungen der Arbores Consanguinitatis*, pp. 79–87; Klapisch-Zuber, *L'Ombre des ancêtres*; Weigel, *Genea-Logik*; on Trees of Consanguinity and Trees of Affinity, see the articles in this volume by Susanne Wittekind, 'Visualizing Salvation: The Role of Arboreal Imagery in the *Speculum humanae salvationis*' (Kremsmünster, Library of the Convent, Cod. 243), 132–143, Figures 6.5 and 6.10, and Andrea Worm, '*Arbor humanum genus significat*: Trees of Genealogy and Sacred History in the Twelfth Century', 44–52, Figures 3.1, 3.3, 3.5, 3.9, and 3.10.

[81] Bloch, 'Genealogy as a Medieval Structure and Textual Form'.

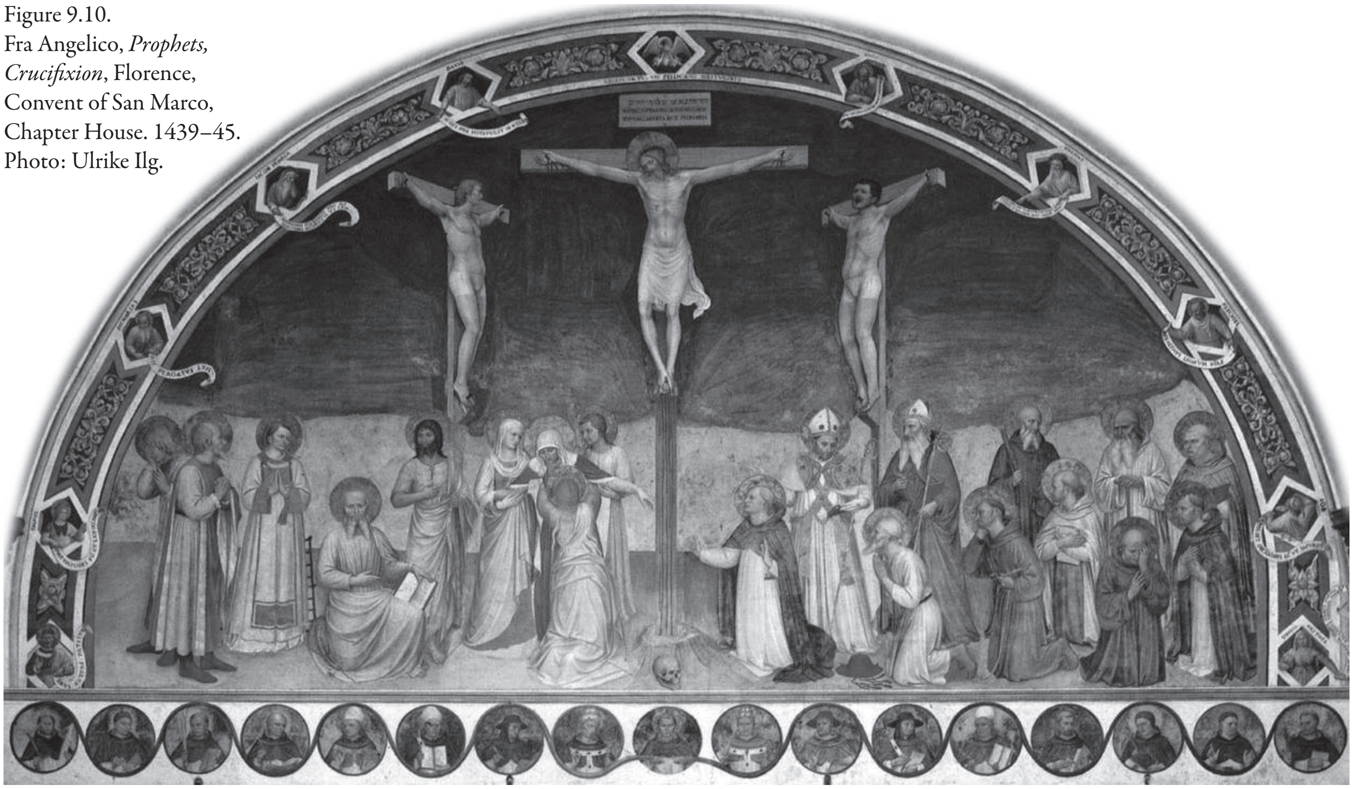

Figure 9.10.
Fra Angelico, *Prophets, Crucifixion*, Florence, Convent of San Marco, Chapter House. 1439–45.
Photo: Ulrike Ilg.

Francis to Christ and that of the saint's followers to the apostles.[82] A genealogical reading of Gaddi's tree image is corroborated by later artistic emanations of the same topic. One indirect descendant of the Santa Croce fresco is undoubtedly the wall painting in the *Chiostro verde* at Santa Maria Novella in Florence from *c*. 1360/70, attributed to the so-called Master of the Dominican Effigies (Figure 9.9).[83] There, the Dominicans, keen to keep pace with Franciscan pictorial innovation, had a fresco of the *Lignum vitae* executed which follows Bonaventure's model. The Dominicans of Santa Maria Novella apparently tried to outdo their Franciscan rivals by portraying Saint Dominic in a composition similar to the Tree of Jesse as the root of the tree.[84] They also added a vast number of Dominican saints, whose busts emerge from its branches.[85]

A later, fifteenth-century variation of the Bonaventuran theme can be found in the Dominican convent of San Marco in Florence (Figure 9.10). There, the various iconographic components amalgamated in the Santa Croce fresco to create a singularly dense composition were taken apart and represented separately. In Fra Angelico's fresco in the chapter house, the image of Christ on the cross formerly blended onto the stem of the Bonaventuran tree now stands again on its own in the monumental scene of the Crucifixion.[86] As in Santa Croce, a group of biblical figures and a group of cler-

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[82] For an exemplary interpretation of their roles see the *Speculum perfectionis*, the *Actus B. Francisci et Sociorum eius*, and the *Fioretti* (all *c*. 1330). The topos of 'christiformitas' was growing even stronger towards the end of the fourteenth century, see *De conformitate vitae B. Francisci ad vitam Domini Jesu* by Bartholomew of Pisa (*c*. 1390). For a discussion of Saint Francis's conformity with Christ due to the stigmatization, see Rave, *Christiformitas*, pp. 245–46 (with indication of numerous literary sources); Iammarrone, 'La croce in san Francesco', pp. 386–92.

[83] The fresco is located in the Northern wing of the *Chiostro verde*, next to the entrance into the *Chiostro dei Morti*. Paatz, *Die Kirchen von Florenz*, III (1952), 723; Lunardi, *Arte e storia in Santa Maria Novella*, p. 37. On the artist, see Kanter, 'Master of the Dominican Effigies'; Kanter, 'Maestro delle Effigi Domenicane'.

[84] On the Tree of Jesse, see the articles in this volume by Marie-Pierre Gelin, '*Stirps Jesse in capite ecclesiae*: Iconographic and Liturgical Readings of the Tree of Jesse in Stained-Glass Windows', and Salonius, '*Arbor Jesse – Lignum vitae*'.

[85] On such Dominican adaptations of images originally belonging to the Franciscan tradition, see Blume, 'Ordenspolitik und Bildpolitik', pp. 149–50, 164; see also Gardner, 'Sant'Antonio, Lorenzo Lotto and Dominican Historicism'.

[86] See Bonsanti, 'Gli affreschi del Beato Angelico', pp. 162–64, figs 7–15.

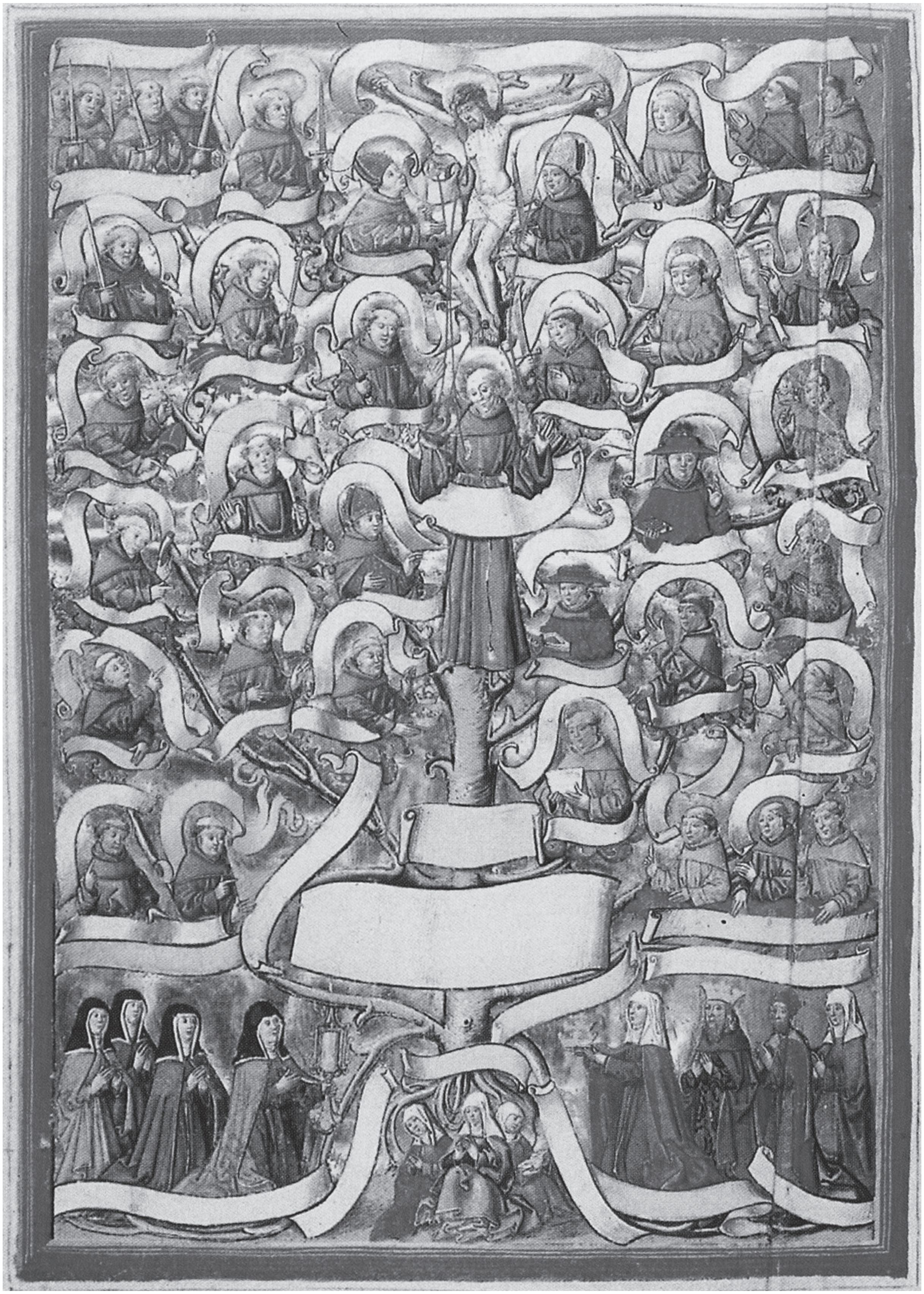

Figure 9.11. 'Franciscan Genealogical Tree', Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, *Graduale de Sanctis*, Clm 23042, fol. 4v. After 1494. Photo courtesy of the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek.

ics — the latter including Dominicans and Franciscans in a kind of 'entente cordiale' — watch the Crucifixion from opposite sides of the cross.[87] Both groups are separated to mirror each other and to encourage meditation on possible parallelisms between them. Another reflex of the Bonaventuran arboreal scheme is the horizontal band of medallions under the Crucifixion. There, in a proper genealogical arrangement starting with the central figure of Saint Dominic, paired roundels portray prominent members of the order. The ten Old Testament prophets also appear detached from the Tree of Life iconography in Fra Angelico's work. They now occupy the medallions inserted into the floral decorations along the fresco's upper border. The scene of the Last Supper forming part of Gaddis's concept in Santa Croce was added by Domenico Ghirlandaio some forty years after Fra Angelico had started the fresco decorations in San Marco. Following Gaddi's example, it was not painted inside the chapter house but inside the refectory of San Marco.[88]

Conclusion

The migration of the Bonaventuran *Lignum vitae* motif into panel and wall painting not only involved a change of scale, but also brought about a change in function and content. From a diagrammatic and rather aniconic mnemonic device, the tree image developed into a means of transmitting more complex and multilayered theological ideas. In their works based on the metaphoric language of Bonaventure's *Lignum vitae*, Pacino da Bonaguida and Taddeo Gaddi created a network of allusions and parallel meanings. Doctrinal teaching regarding the Eucharist was combined with a programmatic statement on the pre-eminence of the Franciscan Order, which aimed at consolidating the order's position inside the Christian church after a period of crisis.

This ingenious association of a wide range of topics, organized in the elaborate figure of a tree, did not last long. Our present knowledge of late medieval monumental wall painting indicates that the popularity of the Bonaventuran image diminished over the second half of the fifteenth century.[89] This can be explained by the fact that by that time, Bonaventure's *Lignum vitae* had been superseded by more recent devotional (vernacular) texts and its allegorical language probably appeared outdated.

The original visual tradition was already being lost by the late fourteenth century, when the Dominicans were adapting the theme rather freely. In the early fifteenth century, the San Marco Crucifixion demonstrates that the main interest of the Dominicans was to retain only what best encapsulated mendicant ideology of the original composition. Furthermore, we have seen how the genealogical mode underlying the visual arrangement of Gaddi's *Lignum vitae* gradually became more obvious in later 'mendicant' trees.[90] These synoptic arboreal representations showing personal affiliations between the members of a specific religious order became increasingly popular in the fifteenth century, probably due to the influence of the *Meditationes* of Jaun de Torquemada (1388–1468).[91] They seem to have been first created for a Dominican audience. In some cases, these 'pedigrees' were reduced to a few peopled scrolls flanking a central scene.[92] More often, they were fully developed tree images depicting either Mary and the Christ Child or Christ on the cross as their central icon, in a manner

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[87] It was unusual for the Dominicans to represent themselves in such harmonious accord with the Franciscan branch of the Minorites in that period. One rare example is the small devotional panel by a follower of Fra Angelico of *c.* 1440. Lenza, *Il museo Bandini di Fiesole*, cat. no. 36. The panel shows a similar level of theological sophistication as the Santa Croce and San Marco frescos and on the upper register shows the meeting and the embrace of Saint Dominic and Saint Francis at the foot of a Crucifixion, together with a Last Supper on the lower register.

[88] See Bonsanti, 'Il cenacolo del Ghirlandaio' and figs 1–5. On the decorative tradition of Florentine refectories decorated with representations of the Last Supper, see the monographic survey by Vertova, *I cenacoli fiorentini*; Bellosi, 'I cenacoli'; Walker, 'Florentine Painted Refectories 1350–1500'. Andrea del Castagno's refectory fresco inside the convent of Sant'Apollonia (*c.* 1447) owes even more to the fourteenth-century tradition of showing the Last Supper surmounted by other Christological scenes, such as the Crucifixion, Deposition, or Resurrection.

[89] A census of known representations (see note 68 in this article) proves that the Bonaventuran tree image reached its peak of popularity during the fourteenth century, whereas very few examples date from the early fifteenth century.

[90] I am not aware of any recent specific study exploring this appropriation of genealogical imagery by the religious orders during the late Middle Ages and after. There are spurious remarks by Auer, 'Bilderstammbäume zur Literaturgeschichte des Dominikanerordens' and Walz, 'Von Dominikanerstammbäumen'.

[91] Walz, 'Von Dominikanerstammbäumen', pp. 234–38.

[92] This is the case in the above-mentioned frescoes in San Marco, Florence (see p. 204, Figure 9.10 in this article) and in San Francesco, Pistoia (see note 78 in this article). There, the painter represented a series of roundels showing Franciscan cardinals on both sides of the *Lignum vitae*. Further examples are the peopled scrolls bordering the narrative scenes on the front wall of the chapter house of San Francesco, Pisa, *c.* 1392; see Marchi, *La cappella del Capitolo di San Bonaventura in Pisa*; Boskovits, *Pittura fiorentina alla vigilia del Rinascimento 1370–1400*, pp. 402–15.

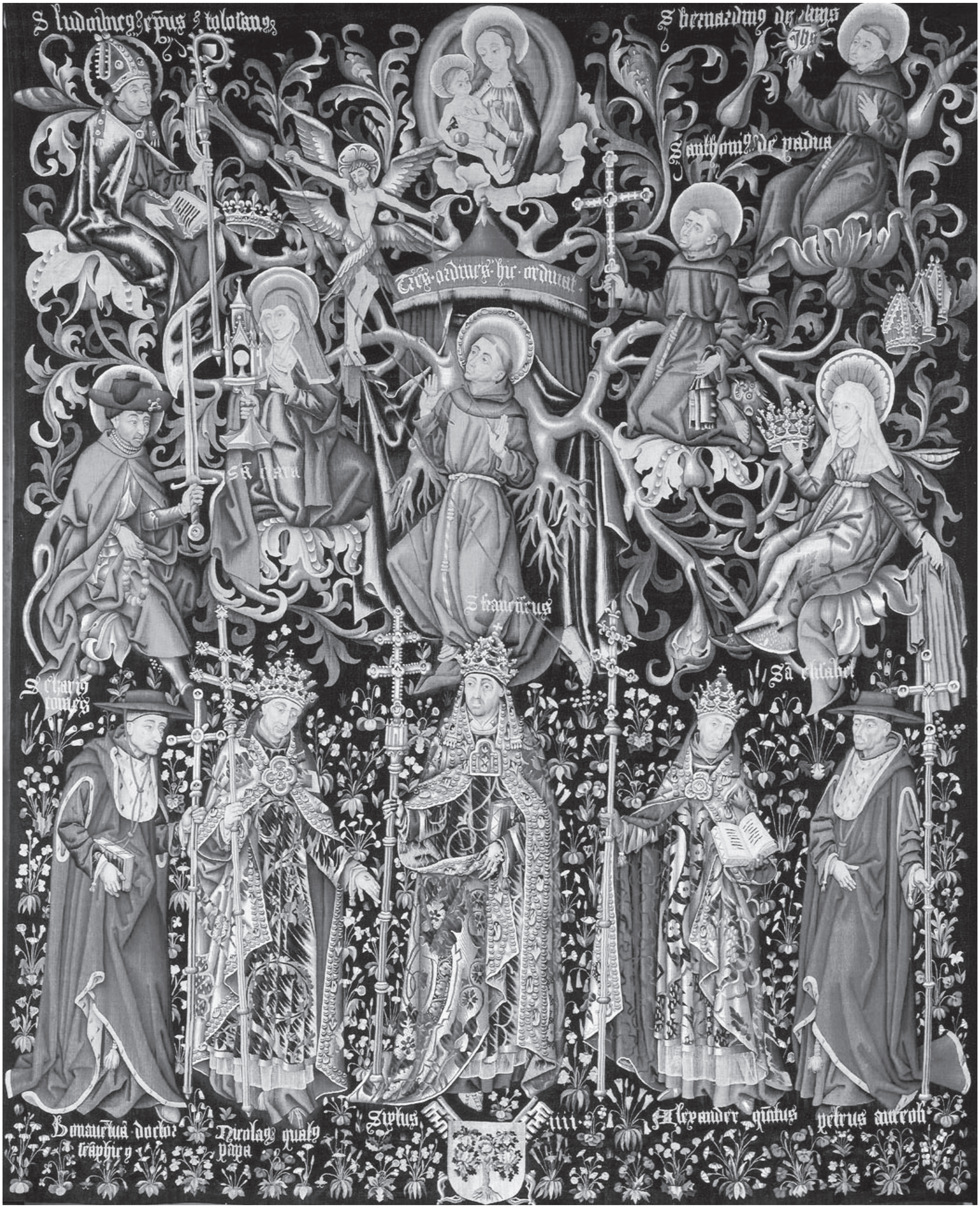
S ludouicus epus tolosanus
S bernardinus de senis
S anthonius de padua
Tres ordines hic ordinat
Sa clara
S franciscus
Sa elisabet
S elsarius comes
Bonauentura doctor seraphicus
Nicolaus quartus papa
Sixtus IIII
Alexander quintus
petrus aureoli

Figure 9.12. 'Flemish tapestry of a genealogical tree with Saint Francis at its centre, bearing Franciscan saints as its fruit. The Franciscan popes Nicholas IV, Alexander V, and Sixtus IV are shown at the base of the tree, together with the donor of the tapestry and the Franciscan theologians saint Bonaventure and Pierre d'Auriole'. 1479. Photo courtesy of Stefan Diller.

similar to the *Lignum vitae* (Figure 9.9).[93] A particularly telling example of a 'Franciscan' family tree, to mention only one, is included in a late fifteenth-century German gradual, which was once property of a convent of Poor Clares (Figure 9.11).[94] In this composition, the image of Christ on the cross has been shifted to the top of the tree in order to make way for Saint Francis in the centre, with his stigmata clearly visible: the 'alter Christus'. Both figures are surrounded by the busts of numerous Franciscan saints who seem to grow like fruit on the tree. Its roots branch out to include kneeling donor figures and some Franciscan nuns, who were the actual owners of the manuscript. In this case, the *Lignum vitae* image did survive, but it was transformed into a genealogical tree, which illustrated the prosperous growth of the order and its discipleship to Christ. Here, as in other fifteenth-century representations emerging from the Franciscan *Lignum vitae* tradition (Figure 9.12), the numerous different elements, once intimately connected and condensed into a single image by Pacino da Bonaguida and Taddeo Gaddi, began again to lead separate lives and follow diverse lines of thought.

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[93] An early example of this iconography is the *Lignum vitae* fresco in Santa Maria Novella (see pp. 203–204 in this article).

[94] Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 23042, fol. 4^v. The manuscript, executed after 1494, originally belonged to the Franciscan nuns of St Jakob am Anger in Munich, according to Sepp, Wagner, and Kellner, 'Handschriften und Inkunabeln', p. 357.

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Arbor Jesse – Lignum vitae: The Tree of Jesse, the Tree of Life, and the Mendicants in Late Medieval Orvieto

Pippa Salonius

Monumental compositions of trees decorate the façades of two of the most important churches of late medieval Orvieto: the city cathedral and the parish church of San Giovenale, both dating to the first half of the fourteenth century.[1] The vast narrative relief programme located on the external western façade of the cathedral in Orvieto is framed by the branches of four stylized trees, which are splayed over the pilasters flanking its three entrance portals (Figure 10.1). This arboreal framing device was first outlined, well before its actual realization, in one of the earliest documents referring to the cathedral: a preparatory drawing of the façade dating to the early 1290s (Figure 10.2).[2] The illustration of the Old Testament and Gospels sculpted in bas-relief on the marble façade of the cathedral was executed under the direction of the Sienese sculptor and architect Lorenzo Maitani between 1310 and 1330.[3]

The other Orvietan tree of our discussion, painted on the interior wall of the façade of the church of San Giovenale, is one of the earliest known monumental wall paintings to illustrate Saint Bonaventure's *Lignum vitae* (Figure 10.3).[4] It is situated to the right of the door and is attributed to the first half of the fourteenth century, a date which roughly corresponds to that of the execution of the relief sculpture on the city's cathedral façade.[5]

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[1] For a more extensive discussion of the origins of the church of San Giovenale, see Manente, *Historie da Orvieto*, p. 9; Pacetti, *L'Antica chiesa di San Giovenale in Orvieto*, pp. 7–8; Satolli, 'Il complesso architettonico', p. 6.

[2] Two preparatory drawings for the cathedral façade were executed in stylus and brown ink on parchment. The first drawing, known as the 'disegno monocuspidale', measures 101 × 74 cm and can be identified with the parchment reacquired by the Opera del Duomo from Peruzio Ceccarelli in 1383. The second drawing, generally attributed to Lorenzo Maitani and known as the 'disegno tricuspidale' measures 120 × 87 cm. Neither of the two drawings, held in the Museo dell'Opera at Orvieto, is signed or dated. For a discussion of their origins, see Bork, *The Geometry of Creation*, pp. 169–87, esp. p. 173; Riccetti, *Opera, piazza, cantiere*; Wiener, *Lorenzo Maitani*, pp. 232–45; Riccetti, 'Disegno per la facciata del Duomo di Orvieto'; Ascani, *Il Trecento Disegnato*, pp. 67–82, esp. 79–80; White, 'The Reliefs on the Façade', p. 269; Carli, *Sculture del Duomo di Orvieto*, p. 11. Two nineteenth-century photographic copies of each drawing are also held in the same museum. Middeldorf-Kosegarten, *Die Domfassade in Orvieto*, p. 19, figs 3–4; Salonius, 'Orvieto and its Cathedral', pp. 32–35.

[3] According to John White, the first document to mention Lorenzo Maitani at Orvieto was written on 16 September 1310 before the *Consiglio generale di Orvieto*. The contract stipulated that Maitani should receive an annual payment of '12 gold florins, with three gold florins to be paid within fifteen days of the beginning of the term of office of each treasurer or *camerarius*', in addition to proposing that Maitani be awarded Orvietan citizenship and the privileged permission to carry arms. Guido Tigler has suggested that Renato Bonelli's final date, which defined the twenty-year period for the production of the relief sculpture, be brought forward to 1321, reducing the time of execution to eleven years. Tigler, 'Orvieto 1284–1334'; Bonelli, *Il Duomo di Orvieto*, p. 219; White, 'The Reliefs on the Façade', p. 260.

[4] For a detailed bibliography of the wall painting of the Tree of Life in the church of San Giovenale in Orvieto, see p. 191, note 17 of the article in this volume by Ulrike Ilg, '*Quasi lignum vitae*: The Tree of Life as an Image of Mendicant Identity'.

[5] Despite attributions to Pacino di Bonaguida, the author of the Orvietan Tree of Life is unknown, as it bears no signature and no documentation recording its commission remains. Pacetti, *L'Antica chiesa di San Giovenale in Orvieto*, p. 29; Lo Presti, *Le arti ad Orvieto*, pp. 539–40. Ferdinando Bologna dates the fresco to *c.* 1300

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pp. 213–241 BREPOLS PUBLISHERS 10.1484/M.IMR-EB.1.102028

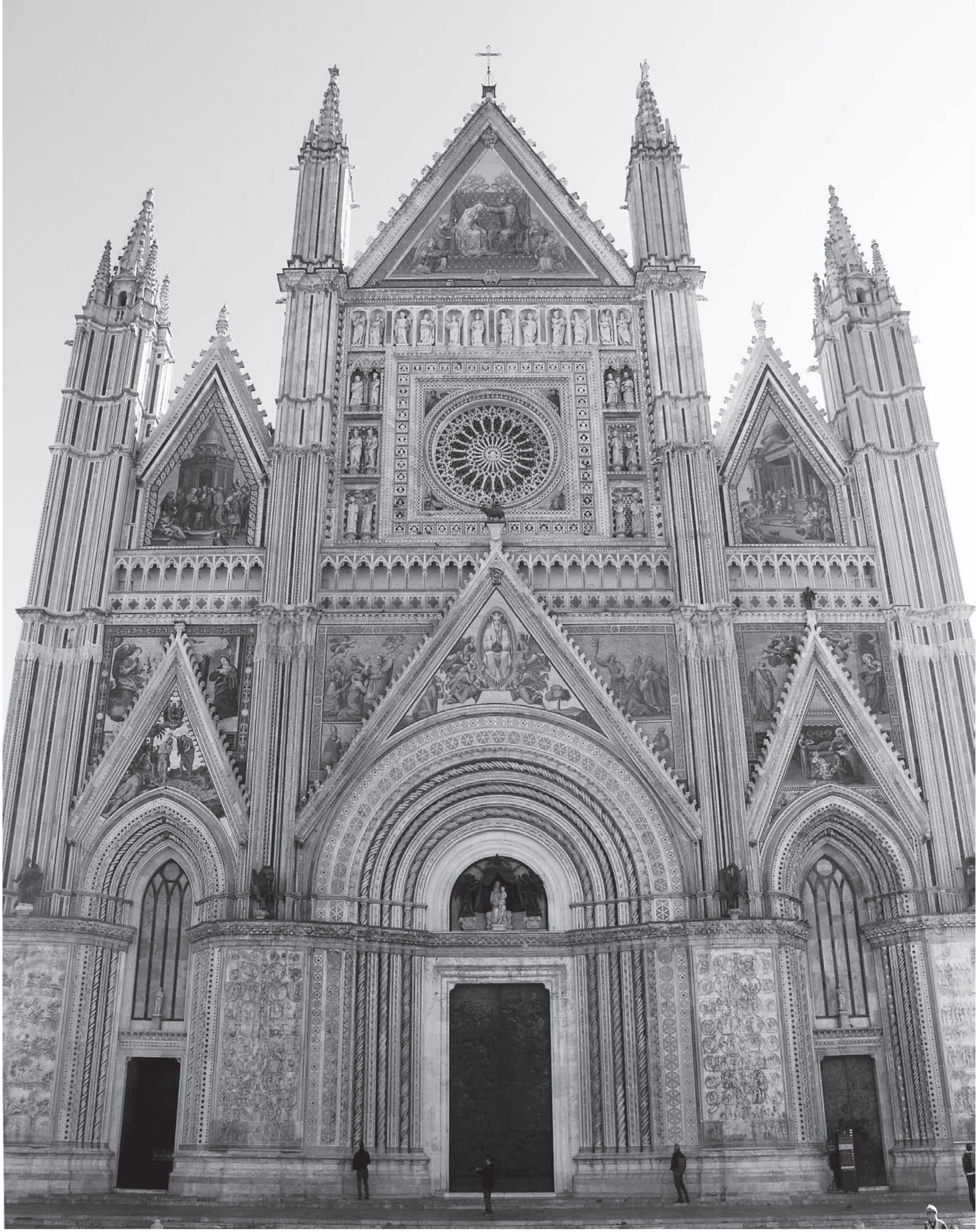

Figure 10.1. 'Orvieto Cathedral façade', Orvieto.
Photo Pippa Salonius, reproduced with permission of the Opera del Duomo di Orvieto.

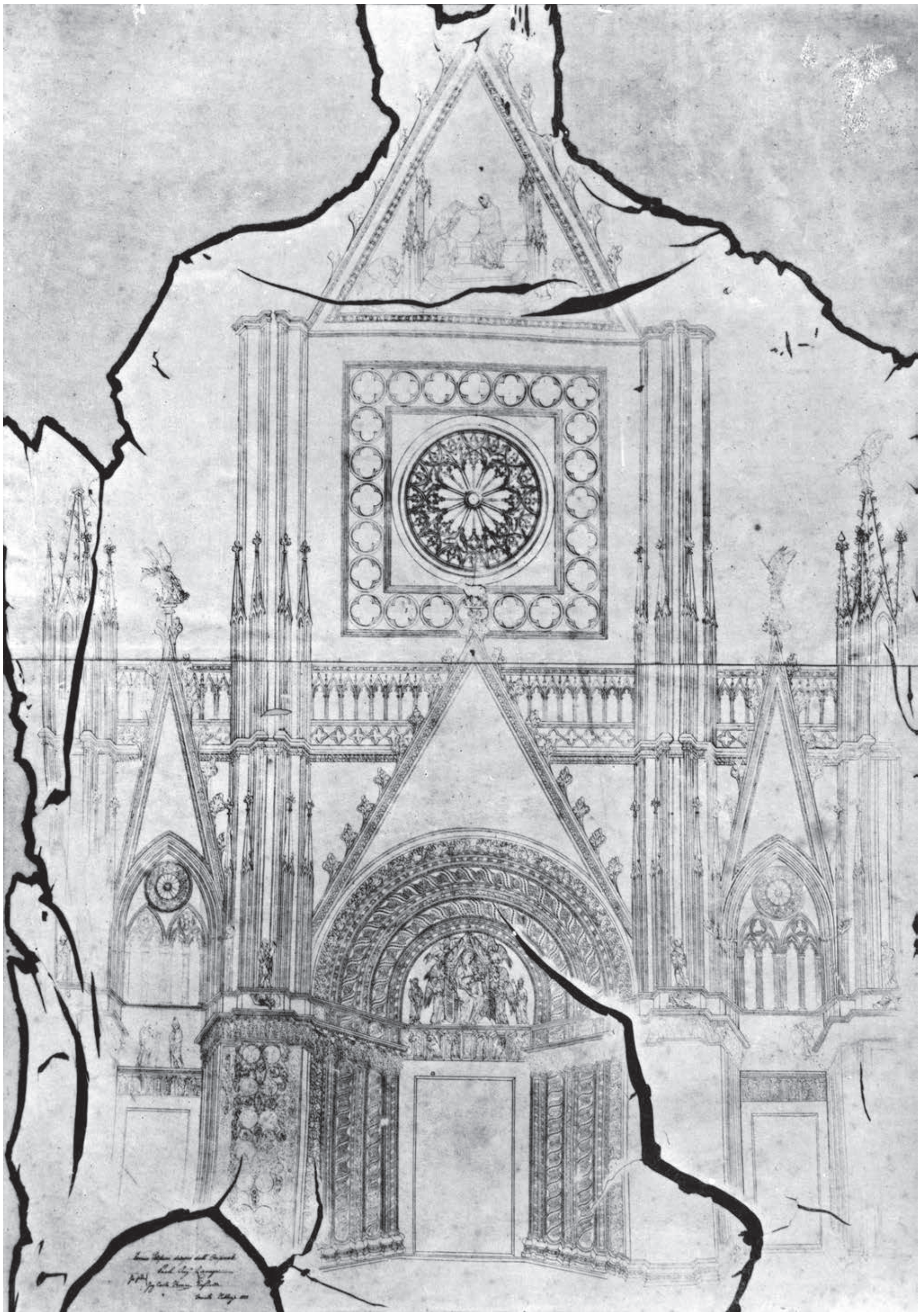

Figure 10.2.
'Preparatory drawing for the Orvieto Cathedral façade'. Orvieto, Museo dell'Opera. *c.* 1290. Nineteenth-century photographic reproduction. Photo courtesy of the Opera del Duomo di Orvieto.

Until now these two decorative programmes have been analysed separately by historians; their close geographic proximity and the corresponding time frame in which they were executed has gone largely uncommented. In this article the bas-reliefs on the cathedral façade are linked to the parish wall painting by means of their common iconographic layout of the tree motif, a choice which, as I will argue, can be traced back to Franciscan initiative and the presence of Saint Bonaventure at the papal court in the medieval city of Orvieto.

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and associates it with the artist he claims was responsible for the Tree of Life painted in the cathedral of Naples: Lello of Orvieto. Bologna, *Pittori alla Corte Angioina*, fig. 36; pl. III–33. For a more recent discussion of the repertoire of the artist Lello da Orvieto, see Lucherini, 'Il cosiddetto Lello da Orvieto', pp. 185–216.

The Tree of Jesse at the Cathedral of Orvieto

The decorative programme on the Orvieto Cathedral façade is remarkable in its multimedia composition of sculpted bronze, marble relief, and mosaic work.[6] On the lowest level of the four-tiered structure, its dominant central portal and two side portals of minor dimensions are flanked by four massive pilasters, whose broad surfaces provide grounds for extensive cycles of sculpted narrative reliefs. The relief narrative on the north side of the main portal is drawn from the Old Testament in illustrations of Genesis and the Tree of Jesse. These are counterbalanced by the reliefs on the third and fourth pilasters on the southern side of the portal, which were inspired by the New Testament and represent the Life of Christ and the Last Judgement respectively. Each pilaster is surmounted by one of the massive bronze sculptures of the symbols of the four evangelists: Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John. Documents show that these were being worked on in 1329, and once cast, they were raised on small marble pedestals which rest on the upper foliated cornice delimiting the lower level of the façade.[7] In the central tympanum of this secondary level, located above the main entrance, is Lorenzo Maitani's multimedia sculpture of the marble Virgin and Child enthroned under a gilded bronze baldachin. Its drapery is held open by six bronze angels.[8] Portals and pilasters are separated by repetitive bands of natural foliage or geometric decorative elements, executed in mosaic or relief sculpture.[9]

Framed by the later mosaics in the gables, work on the magnificent rose window on the third level of the façade commenced under the direction of Andrea Pisano in 1347–48.[10] By 1359, the central part of the rose was finished and Andrea Orcagna, who was master builder of the cathedral after Andrea Pisano, was occupied with completing its elaborate framework and starting the mosaic programme. Finally in 1372–73, the niches used to house the figures of prophets around the outermost edges of the square frame of the rose window were being sculpted.[11] Sparkling mosaic work dominates the second level of the façade. In the gables and flanking spandrels above the portals and surrounding the rose window on the third and fourth levels of the façade, the mosaic programme is predominantly dedicated to the Life of the Virgin. Work on the cathedral's narrative mosaics began in the gables on the second level of the façade during the late 1350s and proceeded upwards until 1390 when, with the exclusion of the Resurrection in the highest gable, most mosaics were complete.[12]

Andrea Orcagna directed the first figurative work to be executed in mosaic, which was the representation of the Baptism of Christ situated in the gable above the north portal of the façade.[13] Catherine Harding suggests that the insertion of an episode from the Life of John the Baptist into the stories of the Life of the Virgin was probably due to the location of the baptismal font inside the cathedral directly behind the scene above the north entrance of the façade.[14] In 1362, it is likely that work began on the mosaics illustrating the Annunciation to Anna, situated in the spandrels at the sides of the north gable showing the Baptism of Christ, and the Nativity of the Virgin, located in the gable above the lateral door on the south side of the façade.[15] The Nativity of the Virgin,

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[6] Among all the large metropolitan churches in medieval Italian cities, the only other example comparable in dimensions, medium, and complexity is that of the Venetian basilica of San Marco. At San Marco too, sparkling mosaic work is alternated by the chiaroscuro effect of polychromatic relief sculpture around the main portal, and the Venetian basilica's bronze equestrian sculptures pillaged from Constantinople are in an elevated position as are Maitani's casts of the four evangelist symbols on the Orvietan façade. Gardner, 'The Façade of the Duomo at Orvieto', p. 202; Rossi Manaresi, 'Considerazioni Tecniche', p. 176.

[7] On 13 November 1329 a payment was made for the scroll of Saint Matthew (erroneously referred to as Saint Luke) and several references are made to the eagle of Saint John in the same year. A document of 1330, which records the amount of bronze given to Lorenzo Maitani for casting the eagle of Saint John, is the only clear evidence linking Lorenzo Maitani to the sculpture on the façade of the Orvieto Cathedral. White, 'The Reliefs on the Façade', p. 267.

[8] The 1980s restoration of the *Maestà* in the tympanum above the main portal of the cathedral in Orvieto revealed that the marble sculpture of the Virgin and Child originally had coloured pigment and gold leaf applied to it and that even the bronze elements of the composition had been polychromatic at one stage. Testa, *La cattedrale di Orvieto Santa Maria Assunta in cielo*, pp. 144–51.

[9] According to Catherine Harding, the colourful inlay decorating the architecture on the lower level of the façade was probably applied between 1321 and 1345. Harding, 'The Production of Medieval Mosaics', pp. 74–75.

[10] Bartalini, *Scultura gotica in Toscana*, p. 355.

[11] Bartalini, *Scultura gotica in Toscana*, p. 355.

[12] Harding, 'The Production of Medieval Mosaics', pp. 74–75.

[13] Decorative mosaic work on the lower level of the façade is likely to have been executed by the glassmaker Giovanni di Bonino as early as 1345. In a signed contract of 14 June 1348, Andrea Orcagna is nominated *capomaestro* of the cathedral of Orvieto. Documents cite him as working on the mosaic of Saint John the Baptist in 1359. Harding, 'The Production of Medieval Mosaics', p. 75; Offner, *A Critical and Historical Corpus*, vol. I: *Andrea di Cione*, pp. 13–19. Kreytenberg, *Orcagna*, pp. 22–23, 187–88.

[14] Harding, 'The Production of Medieval Mosaics', p. 75.

[15] A laudatory document recording an assessment of Fra

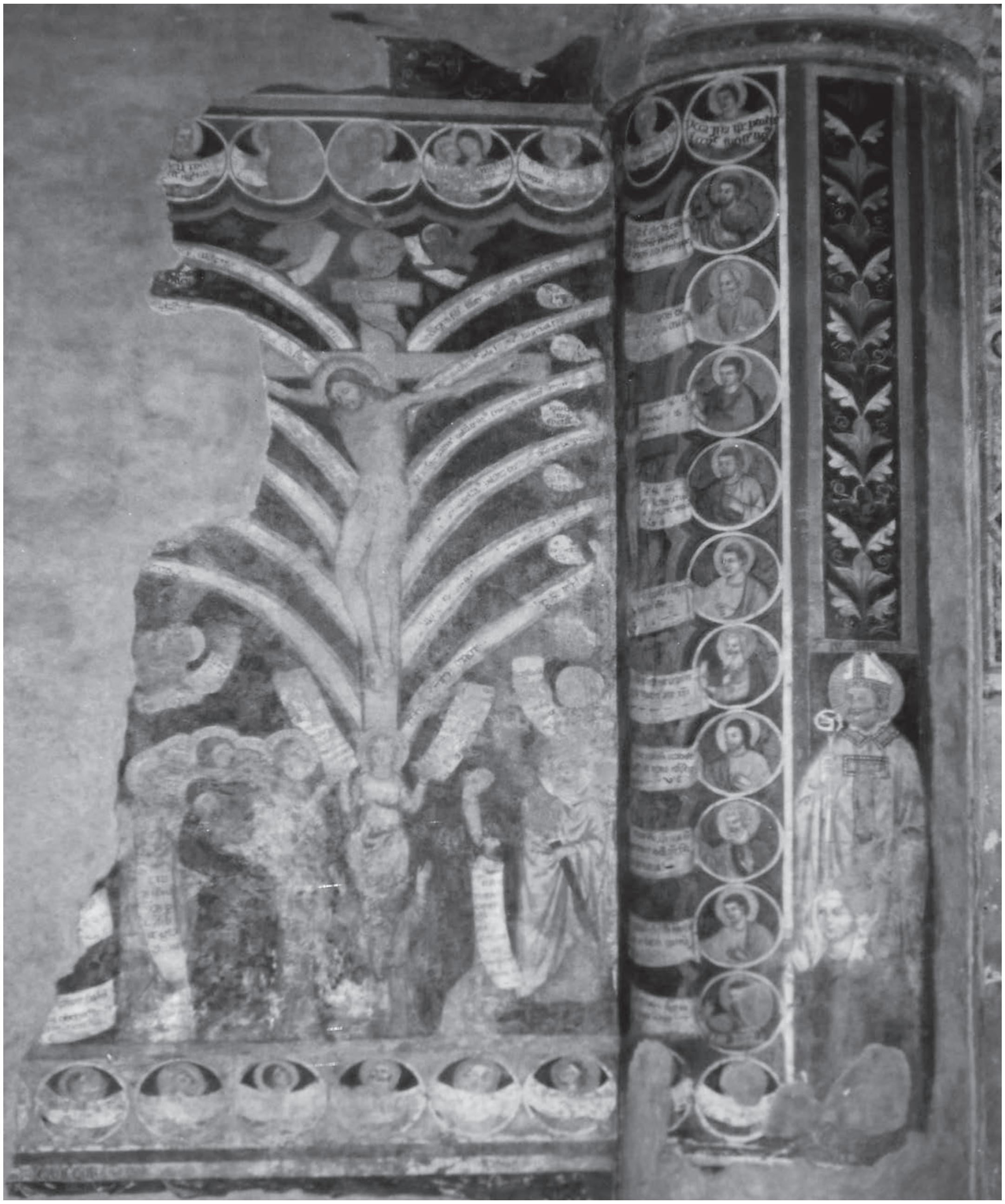

Figure 10.3.
'*Lignum vitae*', Orvieto, Church of San Giovenale. Early fourteenth century. Photo Pippa Salonius.

now kept in the Victoria and Albert Museum in London, is signed by Fra Giovanni Leonardelli and Ugolino di Prete Ilario and dated 1365.[16] Documentary evidence shows the same artists working together on the Annunciation to Anna.[17] Until the late nineteenth century the date 1366

Giovanni Leonardelli's work on the Annunciation to Anna and dating to 1363 suggests that the panel was completed by this time. Harding, 'The Production of Medieval Mosaics', pp. 75, 88.

[16] The panel of the Birth of the Virgin was removed from the Orvieto Cathedral façade during restoration in 1785, when it was replaced with a copy. Originally the prophets Nahum and Isaiah appeared in the spandrels at the sides of the gable, where the Annunciation to Joseph and the Virgin are now to be seen (see fig. 6 in Catherine Harding's article of 1989 on the mosaics). It is signed with the names of the Franciscan friar Giovanni Leonardelli (first documented as a glassmaker in Orvieto in 1325, who worked on both the windows and the mosaics of the cathedral from 1350 to 1370) and Ugolino di Prete Ilario (who painted the frescoes illustrating the Life of the Virgin in the apse of the same cathedral between 1370 and 1377). The inscription reads: 'Joannes et Ugolinus de Urbeveteri MCCCLXV' (Joannes and Ugolinus of Orvieto 1365). Harding, 'The Production of Medieval Mosaics', p. 88; Fumi, 'L'Orcagna'.

[17] Harding, 'The Production of Medieval Mosaics', p. 88. Manieri-Elia, 'Relics, Patchwork, Falsifications'.

could still be read on the mosaic of the Assumption of the Virgin situated in the gable above the main entrance of the façade.[18] Pietro Pucci of Orvieto signed and dated the mosaic of the Presentation in the Temple in the highest gable on the south side of the façade in 1376, and a document of 1388 records him working on the mosaics of the four Fathers of the Church, which frame the rose window.[19] The cycle of mosaics on the façade was not completed until the early sixteenth century when the last tesserae were applied to the Resurrection of Christ, located in the highest central gable of the façade. The mosaic is attributed to Francesco di Rinaldo of Sicily who was present in Orvieto from 1506 to 1522.[20] Most of the façade mosaics present on the Orvieto Cathedral façade today date to restoration projects in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The Resurrection of Christ, once located in the highest central gable, was replaced by a mosaic illustrating the Coronation of the Virgin during the eighteenth century.[21]

Of the two preparatory drawings for the façade, it is the second (tricuspidal) drawing given to Lorenzo Maitani which corresponds most apparently to the Orvieto Cathedral façade today. This is primarily due to what John White described as 'a new breadth and horizontality in the design' closer in style to Arnolfo di Cambio.[22] By contrast, the central area of the façade, with its main portal, rose window, and crowning gable, dominated the first (monocuspidal) drawing (Figure 10.2). The remarkably narrower gables above its side portals match the height of that over the central portal, elongating them and imposing a sense of soaring verticality on the first design. This vertical emphasis was lost in the second (tricuspidal) façade drawing and in the actual realization of the cathedral. Despite this, the presence of foliated framing devices on the second pilaster of the earlier façade drawing demonstrates that, right from the initial planning stages of its decorative programme, the idea of enclosing narrative episodes within the structural framework of a tree had already been established.[23] This central pilaster on both the first (monocuspidal) drawing and the actual cathedral façade is sculpted with the Tree of Jesse, an iconographic motif based on the prophecy of Isaiah:

> And there shall come forth a rod out of the root of Jesse, and a flower shall rise up out of his root. And the spirit of the Lord shall rest upon him: the spirit of wisdom, and of understanding, the spirit of counsel, and of fortitude, the spirit of knowledge, and of godliness. And he shall be filled with the spirit of the fear of the Lord. (Isaiah 11. 1–3)

In the Christian exegetical interpretation of this passage, the rod is intended as the Virgin and the flower is Christ. An early explanation of the passage is given by the Cistercian Bernard of Clairvaux in *De adventu Domini*, II. 4:

> From these passages I think it now manifest what is the stem proceeding from the root of Jesse, and what is the flower on which reposeth the Holy Spirit. For the Virgin Mother of God is the stem, her Son is the flower [...]. O Virgin! Stem of the highest, to what a summit thou liftest on high thy holiness! Even to Him that sitteth on the throne, even to the Lord in His majesty [...]. O true tree of life, which alone was worthy to bear the fruit of salvation![24]

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[18] Harding, 'The Production of Medieval Mosaics', p. 75.

[19] The inscription on the Presentation at the Temple: 'Petrus Putii de Urbeveteri me fecit Anno MCCCLXXVI' (Petrus Putii of Orvieto made me in the year 1376). Harding, 'The Production of Medieval Mosaics', p. 89.

[20] Fumi attributes the Resurrection to the mosaicist Francesco di Rinaldo siciliano, who was in Orvieto from 1506 to 1522. Catherine Harding dates the mosaic work of the *Resurrection* from 1450 to 1587. Fumi, *Statuti e regesti dell'Opera di Santa Maria di Orvieto*, p. 109; Harding, 'The Production of Medieval Mosaics', p. 75, n. 22.

[21] The sorry state of the original mosaic of the Resurrection resulted in it being replaced by the Coronation of the Virgin. The change in subject matter was desired by the Orvietan cardinal Gualterio, who had evidently been inspired by Lanfranco's canvas of the same subject on the altar of the Marescotti chapel in the Carmelite church in Orvieto. The mosaic was begun on 3 October 1713 and on 30 May 1714 was ceremoniously unveiled to the general public. The Coronation of the Virgin was renewed again between 1842 and 1847 based on a copy of Sano di Pietro's fresco of the Coronation of the Virgin originally located on the ground floor of Siena's Palazzo Pubblico and a wooden panel of the subject by the same artist. Fumi, *Statuti e regesti dell'Opera di Santa Maria di Orvieto*, pp. 112, 114; Harding, 'The Production of Medieval Mosaics', p. 75, n. 22.

[22] White, 'The Reliefs on the Façade', p. 270.

[23] Catherine Harding also links the first (monocuspidal) preparatory drawing to the actual programme of mosaics in her research of the Orvieto Cathedral façade. Harding suggests that the Coronation of the Virgin visible in the upper gable of this first façade drawing was probably intended to be executed in mosaic and affirms that the iconographic programme for the mosaics was already well established before they were begun in the late 1350s. Harding, 'The Production of Medieval Mosaics', p. 74.

[24] 'Ex his manifestum jam arbitror, quaenam sit virga de radice Jesse procedens, quis vero flos super quem requiescit Spiritus sanctus. Quoniam Virgo Dei genitrix virga est, flos Filius ejus [...]. O Virgo, virga sublimis, in quam sublime verticem sanctum erigis! usque ad Sedentem in throno, usque ad Dominum majestatis [...].

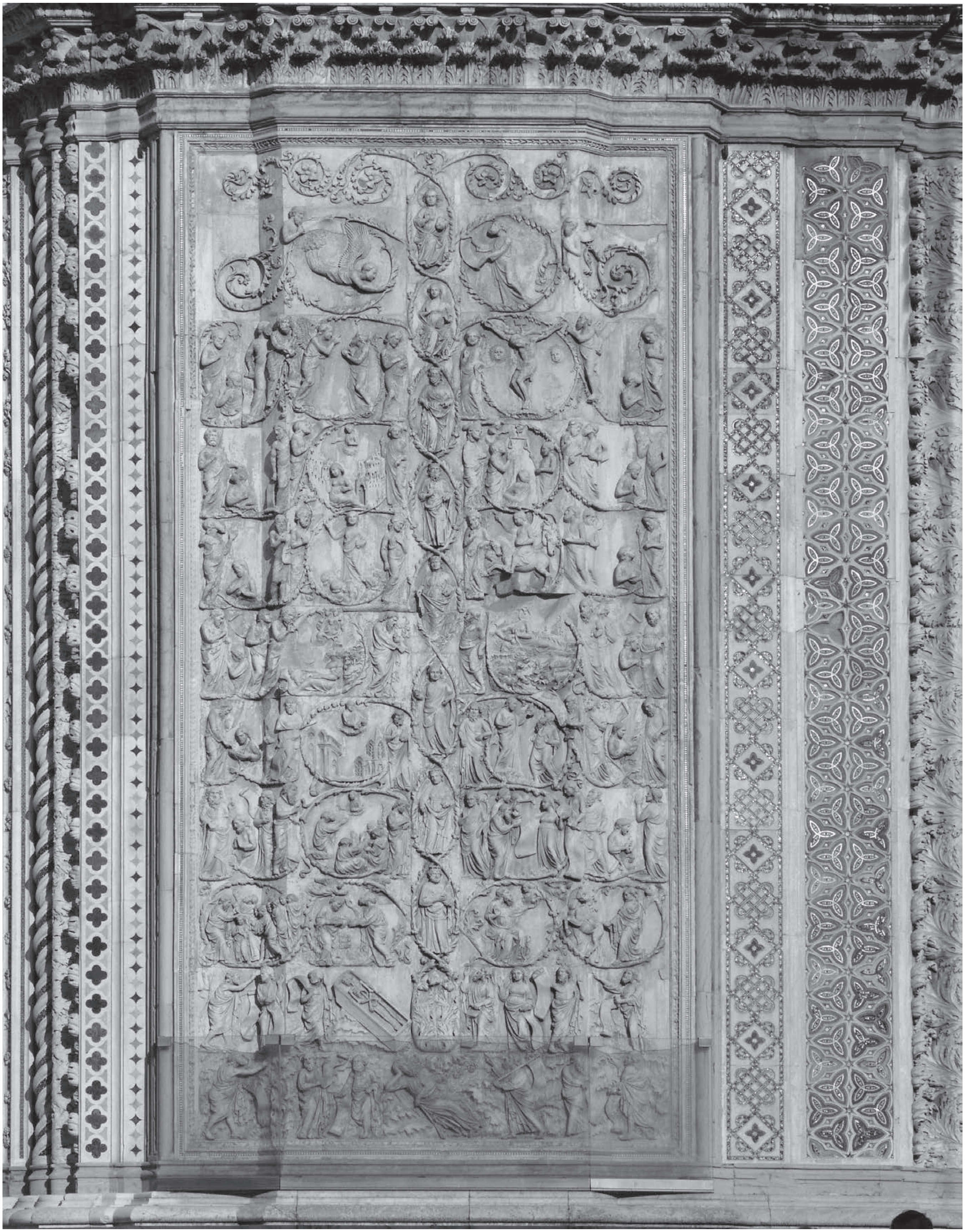

Figure 10.4. 'Tree of Jesse', Orvieto Cathedral, façade. *c.* 1310–30. Photo Pippa Salonius, reproduced with permission of the Opera del Duomo di Orvieto.

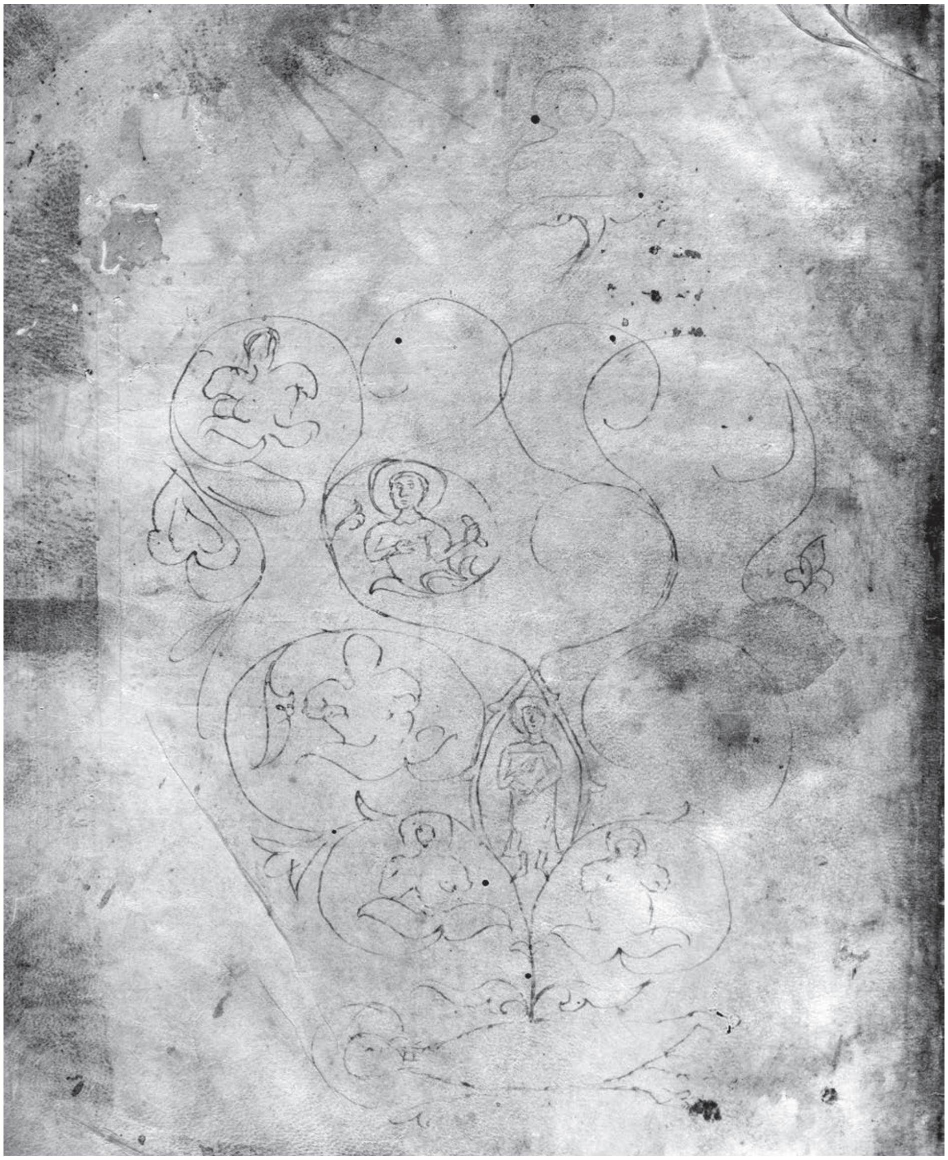

Figure 10.5.
'Tree of Jesse', *Books of Kings*, Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS gr. 333, drawing on the verso of the last folio. 1050–75. Photo courtesy of the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.

At Orvieto, Jesse is shown sleeping, and from his body sprouts the tree framing six Kings of Israel. These begin at the lowest level with King David and lead through to the Virgin and Christ framed in the highest branches. Twelve ancestors and thirty-eight prophets and teaching apostles appear symmetrically on either side of the central stem (Figure 10.4).[25] Its eighteen narrative scenes enclosed in circular acanthus volutes represent prophecies from the Old Testament. At the lowest level, Jesse is surrounded by prophets, philosophers, and a sibyl.

Considerations on the Iconography of the Tree of Jesse in Byzantium and in the Latin West

The earliest known image of the Tree of Jesse is a version painted in a Bohemian codex, which can be dated to 1086. This manuscript is known as the *Vyšehrad Codex* and is

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O vere lignum vitae, quod solum fuit dignum portare fructum salutis!': Bernard of Clairvaux, *De adventu Domini*, cols 42–43. English translation cited above by Baldwin, *Medieval Rhetoric and Poetic*, p. 243. Ananda Coomaraswamy uses this sermon by Saint Bernard (d. 1153) to point out that the theme of the Tree of Jesse was already familiar to his audience, which supports Arthur Watson's theory that the Tree of Jesse iconography may have originated before Abbot Suger's description in 1144 of the stained-glass window portraying the theme. Coomaraswamy, 'The Tree of Jesse and Oriental Parallels', p. 19; Fassler, 'Mary's Nativity', pp. 390–91, n. 6; Watson, *The Early Iconography of the Tree of Jesse*; see the article in this volume by Marie-Pierre Gelin, '*Stirps Jesse in capite ecclesiae*: Iconographic and Liturgical Readings of the Tree of Jesse in Stained-Glass Windows'.

[25] Taylor, 'A Historiated Tree of Jesse', fig. 3.

now held in the National Library of the Czech Republic in Prague (Figure 2.6).[26] The codex contains the four gospels, and its image of the Tree of Jesse, which occurs directly before the Gospel of Matthew, is one of four illuminated typological scenes referring to the immaculate conception of the Virgin. Only two figures are depicted in this early Bohemian edition of the iconography: Jesse has a tree growing from his foot and is encircled by a scroll, held by the prophet Isaiah on his right. The scroll is inscribed with the verse from Isaiah 2. 1–2, and above the entire image a Latin inscription reads: 'Virgula de Iesse procedit splendida flore' (From the rod of Jesse came a splendid flower). In the branches of the tree seven doves represent the gifts of the Holy Spirit.[27]

Another image of the same motif appears in the only surviving illuminated manuscript of the Books of Kings in the Vatican Library (Figure 10.5).[28] Despite the unfinished quality of the drawing, André Grabar asserted that it was 'entirely Byzantine in character' and that it reflected earlier models.[29] The Vatican manuscript has since been recognized as dating to the third quarter of the eleventh century and therefore predates the *Vyšehrad Codex* of 1086.[30] It is thought to be the only survivor of what was once a flourishing Greek genre of illustrated manuscripts of kings.[31] Moreover, the illustration of the Tree of Jesse in a manuscript held to be a copy of earlier Byzantine models is much closer in style to the Tree of Jesse motif examined in this article than is the version in the Prague manuscript. The stem of the Tree clearly grows out of the abdomen of Jesse, recumbent at its base. On the central vertical line of Christ's ancestors, only one standing haloed figure with no apparent crown is surrounded by the foliated vine, which splays out horizontally into four tiers of roundels, framing barely discernable haloed busts of figures or nothing at all.[32] The haloed bust framed by foliage on the third level of the Vatican drawing is more detailed and holds a scroll in his left hand. It is the presence of this figure, likely a prophet, together with four other barely traced busts, which assures us that all ten roundels were intended to hold similar portrayals. The fact that all of the figures represented in the Tree have halos betrays the Greek origins of the motif. In the Western Church the characters of the Old Testament, such as the kings and prophets in this Tree, are not saints. Quite the contrary, in the eastern tradition prophets and other heroes of the Old Testament are considered saints: they are given the title of saint, and their status is defined visually by the halo.[33] Another bust, detached from the ten foliated roundels forming the Tree of Jesse, sits cupped in the bud of a foliated branch, hovering in the air above the vine as a final abstract detail. This sketch of the Tree of Jesse is the only one of 104 images to illustrate the fourth book of Kings in the Vatican manuscript. This manuscript, in its turn, represents the only surviving testimony of a tradition of illustrated Books of Kings in Byzantine art.[34] Could it be that the Books of Kings in the Vatican Library also testifies to a Byzantine tradition for representing the Tree of Jesse?[35]

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[26] Hayes-Williams, 'The Earliest Dated Tree of Jesse Image'; Watson, *The Early Iconography of the Tree of Jesse*, pp. 83–85, 87–89.

[27] The seven gifts of the Holy Spirit as listed in Isaiah 11. 2–3 are Wisdom, Understanding, Counsel, Fortitude, Knowledge, Piety, and Fear of the Lord. The relevant verses of Isaiah 11. 1–3 are cited in the text above. Hayes-Williams, 'The Earliest Dated Tree of Jesse Image', p. 17.

[28] Città del Vaticano, BAV, MS gr. 333. The two books of Samuel followed by the two Books of Kings are counted together in the Septuagint as the four Books of Kings. The Vatican manuscript is the only surviving illustrated manuscript containing all four books of Kings. The illustrations have been given to the work of three separate artists, of which one is known as the 'pseudo-Oppian' Master. Three other Byzantine texts of the Books of Kings also survive. John H. Lowden, 'Kings, Books of', in *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, ed. by Kazhdan; Weitzmann and Kessler, *The Frescoes of the Dura Synagogue*, p. 11; Anderson, 'The Seraglio Octateuch', p. 102. For a complete description of the manuscript, see Lassus, 'Les Miniatures byzantines du Livre des Rois'.

[29] André Grabar dated the manuscript to the twelfth century. Grabar, 'Une pyxide en ivoire a Dumbarton Oaks', p. 132.

[30] Lowden, 'Kings, Books of', in *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, ed. by Kazhdan; Lassus, 'Les Miniatures byzantines du Livre des Rois', p. 38; Weitzmann, 'The Ode Pictures', p. 67; Gutmann, 'The Dura Europos Synagogue Paintings', p. 28; Weiss, *Art and the Crusade*, p. 139.

[31] Lowden, 'Kings, Books of', in *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, ed. by Kazhdan; Weiss, *Art and the Crusade*, p. 139.

[32] The manner in which the torsos of these figures are cupped by the foliage of the stem resembles the small busts of figures portrayed on the outer limits of the historiated Trees of Jesse at the Church of the Holy Apostles in Thessaloniki, *c.* 1315 and on the cathedral façade at Orvieto, 1310–30. For a detailed comparison of the Tree of Jesse in the Church of the Holy Apostles in Thessaloniki with the Orvieto example, see Middeldorf-Kosegarten, *Die Domfassade in Orvieto*, pp. 53–61. For the Tree of Jesse in Thessaloniki, see Stephan, *Ein byzantinisches Bildensemble*; Dionisopoulos, 'The Tree of Jesse'.

[33] Dionysios of Phourna, *Manuel d'iconographie chrétienne grecque et latine*, ed. by Didron and Durand, pp. 132–33.

[34] Weiss, *Art and the Crusade*, p. 139.

[35] When exactly the unfinished drawing of the Tree of Jesse was added to the Books of Kings in the Vatican remains open to discus-

Margot Fassler points out that the first traces of a Marian feast in liturgy date to the first half of the fifth century and can be traced to Jerusalem and Constantinople.[36] In the West the first Marian feasts were of eastern import and did not arrive until the seventh century.[37] The development of the celebration of Mary in the East is pertinent to our argument because, as well as being linked to the Nativity of Christ and therefore Christmas, it was primarily conceived to praise Mary, Theotokos ('Bearer of God').[38] In these eastern centres detailed legends of Mary's life 'established Mary's Davidic lineage'.[39] As such the conception of the Marian feast is intrinsically related to the idea of the lineage of Christ, sparking the line of thought which leads to the representation of the Tree of Jesse. By the middle of the sixth century, the city of Constantinople had been dedicated to the veneration of the Virgin and had become the most important centre of Marian devotion in all of the Eastern and Western Empires.[40] Constantinople, then, had a longstanding liturgical tradition coupled with an extremely strong sense of historical identity with Mary Theotokos, to whom the monastery of Saint Mary Peribleptos was dedicated in 1034.[41] By this time the city's theologians had had five centuries to develop a visual expression which would encapsulate the human genealogy of Christ, and later discussion of the monastery in this article will argue that the Tree of Jesse mosaic on its cloister wall could well have been conceived and executed at an early date soon after its construction. What is intriguing is that the sketch of the Tree of Jesse in the Books of Kings, MS 333 in the Vatican Library, which was illustrated in an important workshop in Constantinople, was an early production and may date to within forty years after the construction of the monastery of Saint Mary Peribleptos.[42] It cannot be ruled out that the author of the sketch may well have been inspired by the truly innovative mosaic on the external cloister wall of the monastery of Saint Mary Peribleptos.

In Italy the first examples of the Tree of Jesse iconography appear in a sculpted relief panel on the bronze doors of the church of San Zeno in Verona from *c.* 1178 and on the stone pulpit dating to the same period once located in the Florentine church of San Piero Scheraggio.[43] In both these Italian versions four figures holding scrolls are arranged at the sides of the central figure of Christ above Jesse in the branches of the tree growing from his abdomen.[44] None of the Italian examples is comparable to the complex type of Tree of Jesse in Orvieto, which in addition to the figure of Jesse includes sixteen scenes

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sion, and its later inclusion to the manuscript cannot be excluded. Grabar believed it to be of key importance, stressing that it was entirely Byzantine and was inspired by earlier Byzantine models. Grabar, 'Une pyxide en ivoire a Dumbarton Oaks', pp. 131–34, esp. p. 132. Kurt Weitzmann and Herbert Kessler's work on early Christian iconography also includes suggestive analysis of the motif of the Tree and puts forward a convincing argument for Greek manuscripts such as the Books of Kings in the Vatican Library as playing an important role in the transmission of ancient motifs to early Christian Art. Weitzmann and Kessler, *The Frescoes of the Dura Synagogue*, pp. 11, 150, 157–64.

[36] Fassler, 'The First Marian Feast', pp. 28–29; Fassler, 'Mary's Nativity', p. 392, n. 9.

[37] Fassler, 'Mary's Nativity', p. 392.

[38] Fassler, 'The First Marian Feast', p. 28.

[39] Fassler, 'Mary's Nativity', p. 392.

[40] Fassler, 'The First Marian Feast', p. 29, n. 18.

[41] The date of construction, decoration, and patronage of the monastery of Saint Mary Peribleptos in Constantinople is discussed further on in the present article.

[42] Lowden, 'Kings, Books of', in *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, ed. by Kazhdan.

[43] The bronze relief panel illustrating the Tree of Jesse appears on the south side of the door of the church of San Zeno in Verona and has been dated to after 1178. Zuliani, 'Le porte bronzee di San Zeno a Verona', p. 418. The pulpit, once in San Piero Scheraggio in Florence (*c.* 1175–85), was dismantled at an early unknown date, and what remained of it was donated in 1787 by Pietro Leopoldo, Grand Duke of Tuscany (1765–90), to the church of San Leonardo in Arcetri. In 1921 it was reconstructed in the form it can be found in today. In addition to the Tree of Jesse, the remaining reliefs depict the Nativity, the Adoration of the Magi, the Presentation at the Temple, the Baptism of Christ, and the Deposition from the Cross. It has been suggested that a relief panel illustrating the Annunciation in the Cloisters Museum in New York may also have originally been part of the pulpit, as was the statue of David now in the Museo Nazionale di San Matteo in Pisa, which possibly once supported its lecturn. Tigler, *Toscana Romanica*, pp. 150–52; Manna, 'L'"Albero di Jesse" nel medioevo italiano'; Hoving, 'A Long-Lost Romanesque Annunciation', p. 118; Sampaolesi, 'San Piero Scheraggio' (1933), Sampaolesi, 'San Piero Scheraggio' (1934).

[44] The Tree of Jesse on the bronze panel in Verona portrays Christ with his right hand raised in blessing in the highest central position of the tree. The four remaining figures in the twisting branches below him are made up of two kings, a deacon, and a prophet, all of whom are holding scrolls. The Tree of Jesse on the pulpit in Florence, which dates to the same period as that of Verona, places greater emphasis of the role of the Virgin in Christ's lineage by replacing the adult figure of Christ with that of the Virgin enthroned holding the Christ child in her lap. Two haloed figures holding scrolls appear on either side of her; of these only one wears a crown identifying him as a king. For further discussion of the cult of the Virgin Mary and the Tree of Jesse, see the article in this volume by Gelin, '*Stirps Jesse in capite ecclesiae*'.

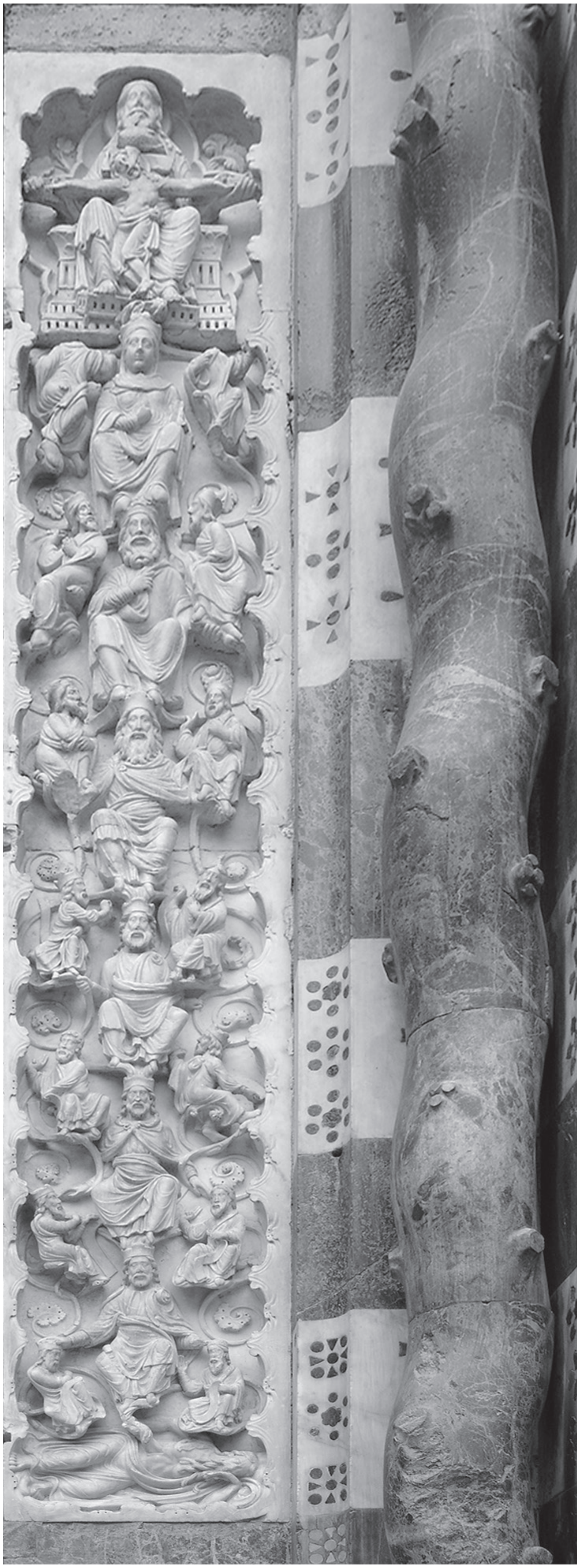

Figure 10.6. 'Tree of Jesse', Genoa, Cathedral of San Lorenzo, west façade, south door jamb. *c.* 1225. Photo: Pippa Salonius.

narrating Old Testament prophecies, David, Solomon, Roboam, and three other Old Testament kings, the Virgin and Christ, twelve teaching apostles, twenty-six prophets, Gabriel, Isaiah, and fourteen pagan prophets and philosophers, including Plato and a sibyl.[45] Earlier sculpted versions of the motif located in Italian cathedral precincts can be found on the western door jamb of the Portal of the Virgin on the Baptistery of Parma (*c.* 1196), decorating the northern central pilaster on the portico on the façade of the cathedral in Lucca (*c.* 1204), and on the southern door jamb of the central portal on the façade of the cathedral of San Lorenzo in Genoa (*c.* 1225) (Figure 10.6).[46] In all of these examples the motif is developed along a narrow vertical axis, echoing the linear development of the theme in illuminated manuscript letters such as the Tree of Jesse in the illuminated Matthew initial of the *Capuchins' Bible* (Figure 10.7) and stained-glass windows like the early glazed examples of the Tree of Jesse at the abbey church of Saint-Denis and at Chartres Cathedral (Figures 2.1 and 2.2).[47] The

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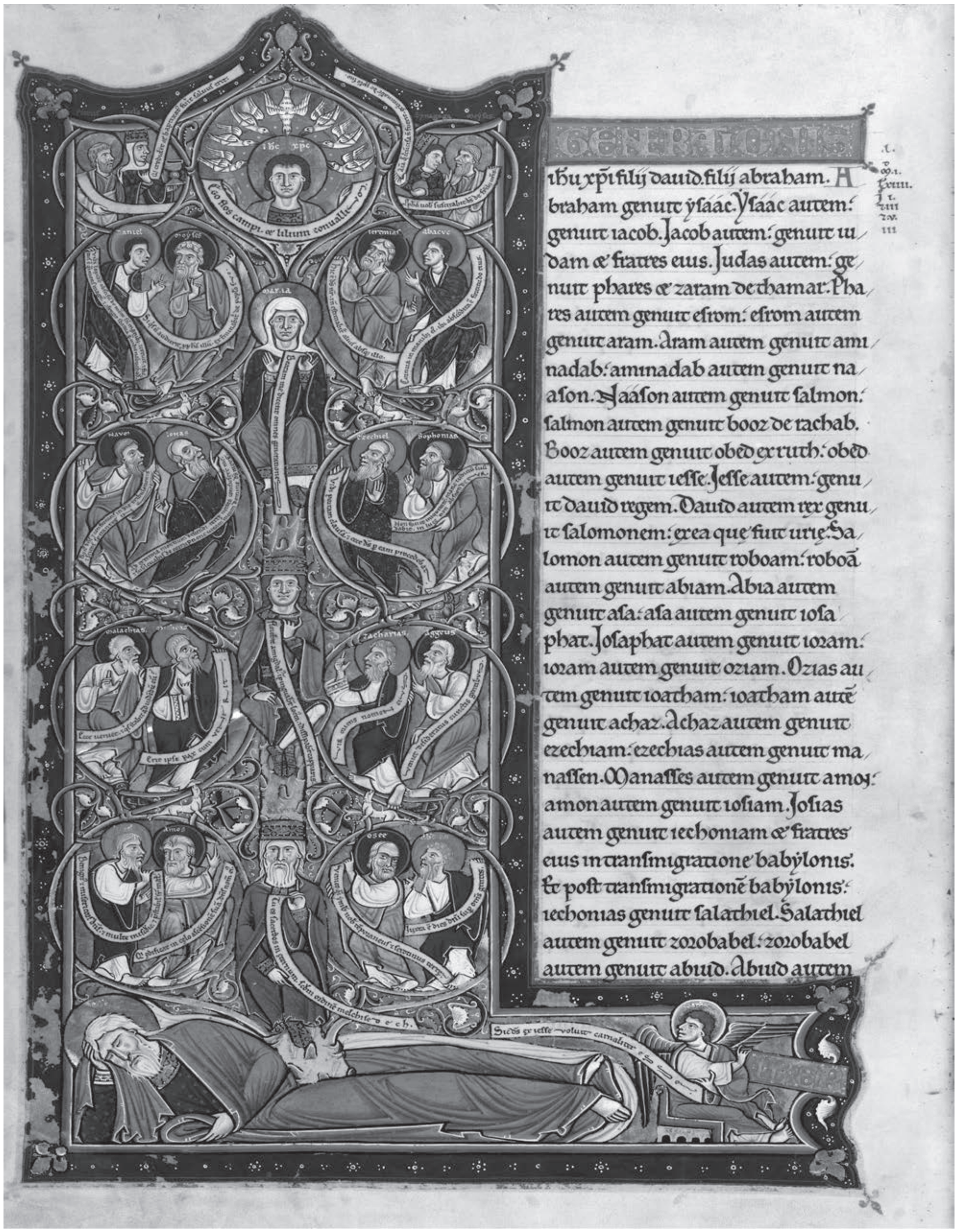
[45] The Tree of Jesse window at Chartres Cathedral has fourteen prophets portrayed in its branches compared to the twenty-four prophets shown at Orvieto. Here I follow the figurative interpretation according to Michael Taylor, which diverges in terminology from Arthur Watson's earlier reading of the iconographic layout. Unlike Taylor who names the figures next to the kings as ancestors, Watson draws a parallel with the later tree at Voroneț in current day Romania (1547) and more specifically identifies these as the Heads of the Twelve Tribes of Israel. Taylor, 'A Historiated Tree of Jesse', pp. 125–26; Taylor, 'The Prophetic Scenes'; Watson, 'The Imagery of the Tree of Jesse', pp. 150–60. Andrea Franci has suggested that the figure of Socrates can be identified among the pagans at the base of the tree, unfortunately I have not had the opportunity to read his thesis for the University of Florence where he analyses this possibility. Franci, 'Nuove osservazioni sulle sculture', pp. 13–14.

[46] For the date of the Portal of the Virgin on the north façade of the Baptistery of Parma, see Romano, 'La struttura del portale'; for the dates of the reliefs on the façade of the cathedral of Lucca, see Lazzarini, *Il Volto Santo di Lucca*, p. 23. For the sculpted reliefs on the cathedral façade in Genoa, see Di Fabio, '"*Tu Regis alti ianua/et porta lucis fulgida*"', pp. 174–75; Di Fabio, 'La Cattedrale di Genova', pp. 59–74; and Claussen, 'Zentrum, Peripherie, Transperipherie'.

[47] Tree of Jesse, Matthew initial, Paris, BNF, MS lat. 16746, fol. 7^v, *c.* 1180. The heavily restored stained glass window of the Tree of Jesse at Saint Denis is first documented by Abbot Suger himself in 1144. At Chartres the Tree of Jesse window is now dated to between 1145 and 1155. Margot Fassler's research on the liturgical innovation of Bishop Fulbert (bishop at Chartres from 1006 to 1028), together



GENERATIONIS
ihu xp̄i filij dauid. filij abraham. A
braham genuit yſaac. Yſaac autem
genuit iacob. Jacob autem genuit iu
dam & fratres eius. Judas autem ge
nuit phares & zaram de thamar. Pha
res autem genuit eſrom. eſrom autem
genuit aram. Aram autem genuit ami
nadab. aminadab autem genuit na
aſon. Naaſon autem genuit ſalmon.
ſalmon autem genuit booz de rachab.
Booz autem genuit obed ex ruth. obed
autem genuit ieſſe. Jeſſe autem genu
it dauid regem. Dauid autem rex genu
it ſalomonem ex ea que fuit urie. Sa
lomon autem genuit roboam. roboā
autem genuit abiam. Abia autem
genuit aſa. aſa autem genuit ioſa
phat. Joſaphat autem genuit ioram.
ioram autem genuit oziam. Ozias au
tem genuit ioatham. ioatham autē
genuit achaz. Achaz autem genuit
ezechiam. ezechias autem genuit ma
naſſen. Manaſſes autem genuit amon.
amon autem genuit ioſiam. Joſias
autem genuit iechoniam & fratres
eius in tranſmigratione babylonis.
Et poſt tranſmigrationē babylonis.
iechonias genuit ſalathiel. Salathiel
autem genuit zorobabel. zorobabel
autem genuit abiud. Abiud autem

Figure 10.7.
'Tree of Jesse, Matthew initial',
Capuchins' Bible, Paris,
Bibliotheque nationale de France,
MS lat. 16746, fol. 7^{v}. *c.* 1180.
Photo courtesy of the Bibliothèque
nationale de France.

horizontal expansion of the layout and the extraordinary complexity of the pictorial programme, which is apparent at Orvieto, finds its best terms of comparison in monumental eastern European wall paintings of the same subject.

The Historiated Jesse Tree and its Origins

In the eastern tradition, the first-known dated example of the Tree of Jesse iconography in monumental art is the mosaic of the Tree of Jesse on the interior west wall of the basilica of the Nativity in Bethlehem, which was seen by the pilgrim Franciscus Quaresimus in the sixteenth century.[48] It was part of an extensive mosaic cycle given

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with Patricia Stirnemann's thesis that Chartrain illuminators were working on Parisian manuscripts in around 1140, evoke questions as to the origins of Abbot Suger's window of the subject at the Abbey of Saint Denis. Stirnemann compares the painting style of this group of manuscripts, of which the Bible commissioned by Abbot Suger (Paris, BNF, MSS lat. 55, 116) is the most famous example, to the glazed windows in the west façade of Chartres Cathedral. Fassler, 'Mary's Nativity', p. 427; Stirnemann, 'Gilbert de la Porrée'.

[48] Quaresimus, *Historica Theologica et Moralis Terrae Sanctae Elucidatio*, II, 645. For a discussion of the architecture and decoration of the basilica of the Nativity in Bethlehem, including citations and translations of the Greek and Latin inscriptions found by Quaresimus, see De Vogüé, *Les Églises de la Terre Sainte*, pp. 46–117,

to the 'painter and mosaicist' Ephrem in a bilingual Greek/Latin inscription transcribed by Quaresimus. The transcription also recorded the decorative cycle as having been completed in 6677 on the Byzantine calendar,[49] which corresponds to the year 1169. Quaresimus describes the mosaic in the basilica of the Nativity as a tree with prophets in its branches, covering the entire wall of the inner façade. Due to its poor condition, he was only able to name the remaining prophets: Joel, Amos, Nahum, Micah, Ezekiel, Isaiah, and Balaam.[50] Melchior De Vogüé suggests that the iconographic layout of the tree must have been similar to the description for the Tree of Jesse in Dionysios of Phourna's painter's manual from Mount Athos (1701–33), published and commented in the *Manuel d'iconographie chrétienne: grecque et latine* by Adolphe-Napoléon Didron.[51] Alongside the inscriptions of the prophets named above, Quaresimus had also transcribed an additional text: 'Ecce e celo rex adveniet' ('Behold, from Heaven a King shall come') which De Vogüé suggests was originally written on a scroll held by a sibyl.[52] According to Didron only one sibyl is generally found represented in eastern religious art, as opposed to the twelve sibyls recognized by the Latin Church. Just as only one sibyl is shown among the prophets and pagans at the base of the Tree of Jesse in Orvieto.[53] The presence of the sibyl in Bethlehem coincides with that on the Serbian Tree of Jesse at Arilje, both of which predate the sculpted reliefs in Orvieto and therefore provide important eastern precedents for it.[54] In a study of representations of Plato in medieval art, David Knipp directly associates the iconography of the Tree of Jesse in Orvieto with Dionysios of Phourna's painter's manual and Byzantine sources.[55] Knipp suggests that an earlier version of the Byzantine tradition represented in Dionysios of Phourna's instructions for illustrating a Tree of Jesse was used as a source for both

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especially pp. 67–70, 98–101. For a more recent discussion and summary of the art historical texts discussing its origins, see Milanović, 'The Tree of Jesse in the Byzantine Mural Painting', pp. 51–52 and Velmans, 'L'Arbre de Jessé', pp. 125–26, fig. 1, who identifies the Tree of Jesse (12th century) in a chapel in Tarsos in Asia Minor as one of the first images of the motif.

[49] Remains of the inscription can be found on the lower part of the south wall of the bema in front of the apse and its iconostasis. The original inscriptions and English translations from both Greek (cited here below) and Latin are given by Jaroslav Folda: 'The present work was finished by the hand of Ephraim the monk, painter and mosaicist, in the reign of the great emperor Manuel Porphyrogennetos Komnenos and in the time of the great king of Jerusalem, Amaury, and of the most holy bishop of holy Bethlehem, the lord Raoul, in the year 6677, second indiction.' Folda, *The Art of the Crusaders*, pp. 349–50; De Vogüé, *Les Églises de la Terre Sainte*, p. 99. Viktor Lazarev names the author of the mosaic cycle Jephrem, stating that the date of 1169 appeared in the presbytery. According to the scholar another signature bearing the name Basil appeared in the nave of the basilica. Lazarev, *Storia della pittura bizantina*, p. 215. Michael Taylor claims the mosaic Tree of Jesse at Bethlehem was a product of crusader art. This argument is in line with Émile Mâle's claim that the Tree of Jesse was of French inspiration due to the identical words of the prophets' inscriptions in Bethlehem and those spoken by Balaam, Nahum, and the Erythraean sibyl in French liturgical plays. Taylor, 'A Historiated Tree of Jesse', p. 142, n. 56; Mâle, *Religious Art in France*, p. 177. Talbot Rice reiterates De Vogüé in his assertion that the Tree of Jesse dates to the same time as the decorative campaign in which mosaics were executed under the patronage of the Byzantine emperor Manuel I Komnenos (1143–80) in the basilica in 1169. Talbot-Rice, *The Church of Hagia Sophia at Trebizond*, p. 154. For a recent overview of the discussion, see Flood, 'Umayyad Survivals and Mamluk Revivals', p. 69, n. 92.

[50] Each prophet held a scroll in his hand and the relative inscriptions transcribed by Quaresimus are published in De Vogüé, *Les Églises de la Terre Sainte*, p. 68.

[51] One must be circumspect when considering De Vogüé's reference to Dionysios of Phourna's guide for painters, given the fact that the eighteenth-century Eastern Orthodox author wrote his descriptions of Christian images almost six centuries after the mosaic Tree of Jesse appeared in the basilica of the Nativity in Bethlehem. However, the painter's manual must certainly have reflected the Byzantine iconographic tradition, as David Knipp points out in his article discussing representations of Plato in medieval art. Knipp's suggestion that an earlier version of Dionysios of Phourna's manual existed in Siena at the end of the thirteenth century, where it was used as a reference for the cathedral façade programme, is also intriguing. De Vogüé, *Les Églises de la Terre Sainte*, p. 68; Dionysios of Phourna, *Manuel d'iconographie chrétienne grecque et latine*, ed. by Didron and Durand, pp. 151–54; Knipp, 'Medieval Visual Images of Plato', pp. 388–91.

[52] De Vogüé suggests that the complete phrase held by the sibyl was: 'Ecce e celo rex adveniet eternus, qui judicabit omnem carnem, et universum orbem' ('Behold, from Heaven an eternal King shall come, who will judge all flesh, and all the world'): De Vogüé, *Les Églises de la Terre Sainte*, p. 69.

[53] De Vogüé, *Les Églises de la Terre Sainte*, p. 69; Dionysios of Phourna, *Manuel d'iconographie chrétienne grecque et latine*, ed. by Didron and Durand, p. 152. The figure of the sibyl was probably introduced to the Greeks from the ancient Near East. Christian ecclesiastical authors began citing the sibyl extensively as a prophetess of Christ from the second century on. McGinn, '*Teste David cum Sibylla*', pp. 8, 13, 17, n. 66. According to Emile Mâle only the Erythraean sibyl was portrayed in western art until the end of the thirteenth century, although the Tiburtine sibyl was also known in medieval Italy. Mâle also claims that although Dionysios of Phourna's painter's guide refers to only one sibyl, she can be identified as the Erythraean sibyl. Mâle, *The Gothic Image*, pp. 336–40.

[54] The Tree of Jesse in Arilje, Serbia will be discussed in greater detail later in this article. Taylor, 'A Historiated Tree of Jesse', p. 128.

[55] Knipp, 'Medieval Visual Images of Plato', pp. 388–95.

the sculpted façade programme in Siena executed by Giovanni Pisano, and again later by the Sienese master builder Lorenzo Maitani at the cathedral of Orvieto as a source for the Tree of Jesse on its façade.[56] However, until an earlier specific source for Dionysios of Phourna's eighteenth-century painter's manual can be traced, the argument is extremely difficult to substantiate. Knipp's conviction of a Byzantine source for the iconography of the Tree of Jesse in Orvieto is supported by his observation that the attribute of the coffin located above Plato's head in the reliefs at Orvieto is a reference to the philosopher's tomb, which can be associated specifically with iconography of eastern origin, just as the presence of the pagan prophets at the base of the Tree of Jesse was certainly inspired by Byzantine sources.[57] Returning to the Tree of Jesse in Bethlehem, unfortunately there is no indication as to whether it was historiated; however it is certain that roundels of foliage formed the tree, framing the prophets and their scrolls in a similar manner to both the layout of the tree in Orvieto and the earlier sketch of the same subject in the Books of Kings in the Vatican.[58]

A second early eastern mosaic illustrating the Tree of Jesse was located in Constantinople, in the monastery of Saint Mary Peribleptos, where it was seen by a member of the Spanish embassy, Ruy González de Clavijo, in 1403.[59] Unfortunately, the date of its execution remains problematic. The mosaic decorated the cloister wall of Byzantium's first great imperial abbey, founded by Emperor Romanos III (1028–34).[60] In his discussion of the monastery Cyril Mango dates the Tree of Jesse mosaic to the 1260s, suggesting it was executed during the restoration project commissioned by Michael VIII Palaeologos (1259–82).[61] In accordance with Emile Mâle's attribution of the Tree of Jesse iconography to western invention, and more precisely to Abbot Suger of Saint-Denis, Mango suggests that the motif did not enter the Byzantine repertory until Palaeologan rule, when it 'first penetrated the Byzantine orbit [...] roughly in the 1260s' during the period of Latin rule in Constantinople from 1204 to 1261.[62] Mango asks whether the Tree of Jesse in Saint Mary Peribleptos might not have been historiated and suggests that it was in this important imperial monastery that the motif first appeared in the East, from where it spread rapidly into the regions of orthodox faith surrounding Byzantium.[63]

According to Mango's rationale, the Tree of Jesse in Constantinople must date to before 1268, when a representation of the same complex motif in the church of the Holy Apostles at Sopoćani in Serbia was painted.[64] The indecisive date of another Serbian Tree of Jesse poses an additional problem for the proposed date of the Tree of Jesse at the monastery of Saint Mary Peribleptos. As the eastern archetype for the Tree of Jesse, the mosaic in the Byzantine capital would predate all representations of the motif in Serbia, including the remains of a Tree of Jesse on the courtyard side façade of the entrance tower of the monastery dedicated to the Virgin Mary at Studenica. This Tree of Jesse has been controversially dated to as early as 1235.[65] Its early date corresponds with the execution of the frescoes illustrating four scenes from the life of Stefan Nemanja in the exonarthex of the Church of the Virgin in the same monastery complex, commissioned by his son Stefan Radoslav in *c.* 1233/34.[66] The possibility of the Studenica Tree of Jesse dating to the first half of thirteenth century, together with the fact that this complex type of iconography for the motif is likely to have been transmitted to eastern Europe from Constantinople, urges us to consider that the mosaic Tree of Jesse in Saint Mary Peribleptos may actually predate Michael VIII Palaeologos's restoration campaign of the monastery. It may date to as early as the monastery's eleventh-century foundations.[67]

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[56] Knipp, 'Medieval Visual Images of Plato', pp. 388–89, 391.

[57] Knipp, 'Medieval Visual Images of Plato', pp. 392–93.

[58] De Vogüé, *Les Églises de la Terre Sainte*, p. 69.

[59] For Ruy González De Clavijo, see Alexander Kazhdan, 'Clavijo, Ruy González De', in *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, ed. by Kazhdan; Watson, *The Early Iconography of the Tree of Jesse*, pp. 18–19, 25; Mango, *The Art of the Byzantine Empire 312–1453*, pp. 218, 265.

[60] Mango, 'The Monastery of St. Mary Peribleptos', pp. 473, 483.

[61] Mango, 'The Monastery of St. Mary Peribleptos', p. 484.

[62] André Grabar clearly refutes this persistent theory of Mâle's: 'C'est à tort qu'Emile Mâle attribuait l'invention de ce thème à Suger, à l'occasion de la reconstruction de l'abbatiale de St. Denis, au milieu du XII^{e} siècle.' Grabar, 'Une pyxide en ivoire a Dumbarton Oaks', p. 132, n. 22; Mâle, *Religious Art in France*, pp. 151, 171–77; Mango, 'The Monastery of St. Mary Peribleptos', pp. 483–84. For a recent discussion of the introduction of the Tree of Jesse imagery in the West, see Margot Fassler's article on liturgical innovation: Fassler, 'Mary's Nativity', pp. 389–434.

[63] Mango points out that an imperial monastery in Constantinople had higher probabilities of being the source of inspiration for the later Byzantine monumental representations of the Tree of Jesse than Taylor's hypothesized Orvietan origins. Mango, 'The Monastery of St. Mary Peribleptos', p. 484.

[64] The Tree of Jesse at Sopoćani was executed during the reign of Uroš I (1243–76). Taylor, 'A Historiated Tree of Jesse', p. 129, n. 14; Milanović, 'The Tree of Jesse in the Byzantine Mural Painting', pp. 49–50.

[65] The monastery was founded after 1183 by Stefan Nemanja, whose son Sava of Serbia became abbot of the monastery in 1208. Its decoration and plan was of fundamental importance and influenced later Serbian monuments attributed to the Raška school, which include the monasteries with monumental representations of the Tree of Jesse: Sopoćani and Dečani. Fresco decoration, which was a conscious imitation of mosaic work, was begun under royal patronage in 1208. Nancy Patterson Ševčenko and Gordana Babic, 'Studenica', in *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, ed. by Kazhdan. Michael Taylor dates the Tree of Jesse in Studenica to the beginning of the fourteenth century, based on its similarities to the genealogical tree at Gračanica. Taylor, 'A Historiated Tree of Jesse', pp. 129, 139, n. 14; Milanović, 'The Tree of Jesse in the Byzantine Mural Painting', pp. 49–50, n. 15.

These early mosaics of the Tree of Jesse in Bethlehem and Constantinople can be linked to a group of monumental wall paintings of the motif in its complex historiated form, some of which still exist in churches and monasteries in modern-day Serbia, Kosovo, Montenegro, Romania, Bulgaria, Turkey, Macedonia, and in Greece at Thessaloniki and on Mount Athos.[68] The earliest manifestations of the Tree of Jesse remaining at the Serbian monasteries of Studenica, Sopoćani (Figure 10.8), and Arilje were part of a continuing iconographic tradition in eastern Europe, as demonstrated by the fourteenth-century Tree of Jesse in the monastery church at Dečani (Figure 10.9).[69] Regardless of the fact that the Tree of Jesse in Bethlehem may not have been a representation of the complex historiated tradition illustrated in eastern Europe and Orvieto, the signature and the early 1169 date of the completion of the mosaics in the church certainly raise the question as to whether this motif could have also had a parallel history of use and adaptation in the East to that of its development in western art.[70] Certainly, the precocious presence of the large mosaic Tree of Jesse on the cloister wall on the outskirts of the capital of the Byzantine Empire, which may well have been executed prior to the example in Bethlehem and at the latest dates to less than a century later, would support such a theory. Furthermore, it is important to note that the Tree of Jesse at Saint Mary Peribleptos was located on an external wall in a cloister of the Byzantine monastery. In 1403 the Spanish ambassador Ruy González de Clavijo described the outside of the church in the monastery complex as being 'completely decorated with pictures of different kinds, rich in gold and azure and many other colours'.[71] Mango points out the importance of this testimony of the elaborate external decoration, given the fact that the other remaining Byzantine examples of such extensive complex external decoration are located in the later decorative programmes of churches in eastern Europe.[72] The complex Tree of Jesse (*c.* 1235?) painted on the entrance tower of the Serbian monastery of Studenica can also be included among these examples of external painted decoration. I would like to take this analysis one step further, reminding the reader that together with the earlier Serbian Tree of Jesse at Studenica and the mosaic at Saint Mary Peribleptos in Constantinople, several of these extant external eastern European decorative programmes include monumental wall paintings of the complex type Tree of Jesse.[73]

Of these eastern Trees of Jesse, two early examples painted in the Nemanjić Kingdom of Serbia still illustrate a number of prophetic scenes that correspond with the episodes in Orvieto.[74] These surviving Serbian wall

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[66] Patterson Ševčenko and Babic, 'Studenica', in *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, ed. by Kazhdan.

[67] Milanović, 'The Tree of Jesse in the Byzantine Mural Painting', p. 51.

[68] It is interesting to note that the frescoes in the Church of the Virgin at Studenica, executed during the decorative campaign of 1208, demonstrate a conscious attempt at imitating mosaics. This would seem to confirm that at least the earlier decoration of the monastery, commissioned by Stefan Nemanja and his sons, was inspired by mosaic work such as the example in Saint Mary Peribleptos in Constantinople. Patterson Ševčenko and Babic, 'Studenica', in *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, ed. by Kazhdan.

[69] Another early fourteenth-century Tree of Jesse was included in the programme of wall paintings in the exonarthex in the Church of the Saviour at Ziča. A further development of the tree motif is the genealogical Tree of the Nemanjić Dynasty, which is derived from the Tree of Jesse motif. As a dynastic motif, the tree was used to visually express the divine succession of the Serbian monarchy. Gavrilović, *Studies in Byzantine and Serbian Medieval Art*, pp. 65, 83; Pantelić, *The Architecture of Dečani*, pp. 76–77; Durić, *The Monastery of Dečani*, pp. 159–83.

[70] In her analysis of the Tree of Jesse motif in the stained glass of parish, abbey, and cathedral churches in this volume, '*Stirps Jesse in capite ecclesiae*', Marie-Pierre Gelin states that the motif was enormously popular in northern France and England from 1140 to 1250. Suger's Tree of Jesse window at Saint-Denis does indeed predate the wall painting of the same subject in the church of the Nativity in Bethlehem (*c.* 1169). In fact Emile Mâle and Michael Taylor have suggested that the Tree of Jesse in Bethlehem was crusader art, inspired by French models (see note 49 of this chapter). Without negating this possibility, I would like to stress that although we have no certain date for the mosaic Tree of Jesse in Constantinople, the presence of the motif in the Vatican Books of Kings (1050–75) suggests an early Greek tradition of the iconography.

[71] Mango, 'The Monastery of St. Mary Peribleptos', p. 475.

[72] Mango, 'The Monastery of St. Mary Peribleptos', p. 475.

[73] For examples, see the Appendix.

[74] The same motif was painted at Arilje during the reign of Uroš II Milutin in 1282–1321. The Tree of Jesse at Studenica, which is likely to have been executed earlier than either of the examples

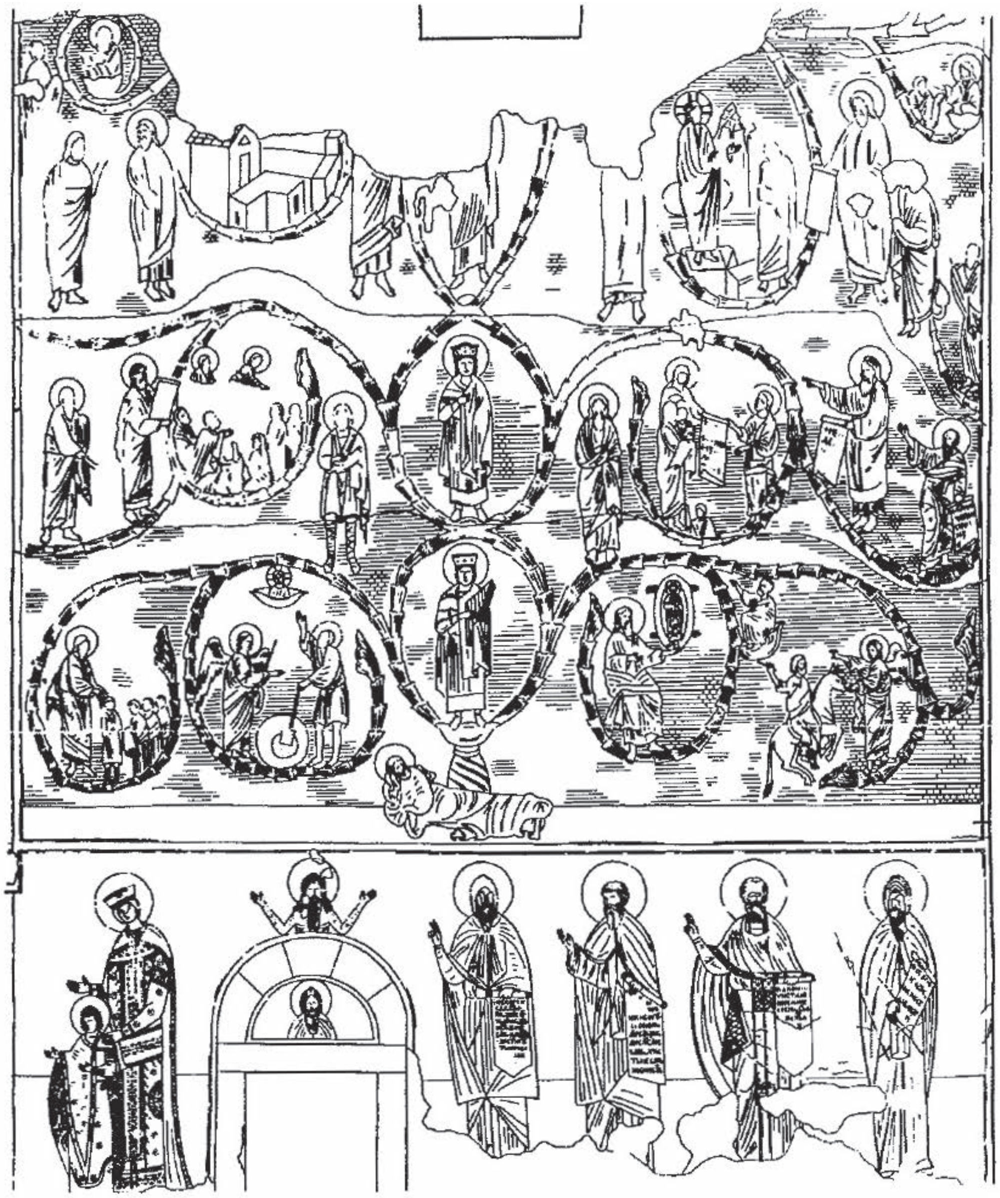

Figure 10.8.
'Drawing of Tree of Jesse in the Narthex of the Church of the Holy Trinity', Serbia, Monastery of Sopoćani. *c*. 1268. Reproduced courtesy of Republički zavod za zaštitu spomenika kulture (Institute for the Protection of Cultural Heritage), Belgrade.

paintings are located in the narthexes of the churches of the Holy Trinity at Sopoćani (*c*. 1268) (Figure 10.8) and Achilles at Arilje (1296).[75] Unfortunately the tree at Sopoćani has been seriously damaged by exposure to the elements, eliminating the upper areas of the composition. Valentino Pace has made suggestive stylistic connections between the frescoed figures remaining at Sopoćani and the mosaic work of Jacopo Torriti in Santa Maria Maggiore, which sustain my own argument for a connection between the papal court of Nicholas IV (Torriti's patron at Santa Maria Maggiore), Orvieto, and the East.[76] A description of the Serbian mural from 1929 reveals that it may have four prophetic scenes in common with the Tree of Jesse reliefs in Orvieto.[77] Of the

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in Sopoćani or Arilje, although of the complex type, was evidently not 'very developed' and is in such poor condition that it cannot be used in terms of comparison. Milanović, 'The Tree of Jesse in the Byzantine Mural Painting', pp. 49, 54–55, n. 15.

[75] Both the monastery of Studenica and Sopoćani functioned as mausoleums for the Nemanjić Dynasty. Saint Achilles at Arilje was a cathedral and Episcopal seat. Pajić, 'La Serbia nel XIII secolo', p. 16. The high quality of the wall paintings in Sopoćani suggests that painters from Constantinople were working on the decoration of the monastery in the thirteenth century. Pajić, 'Fresco Fragment with an Apostle', n. 3.

[76] Valentino Pace, 'Torriti, Jacopo [Iacobus]', in *Oxford Art Online*.

[77] Both Watson and Taylor agree that the Fleece of Gideon, the

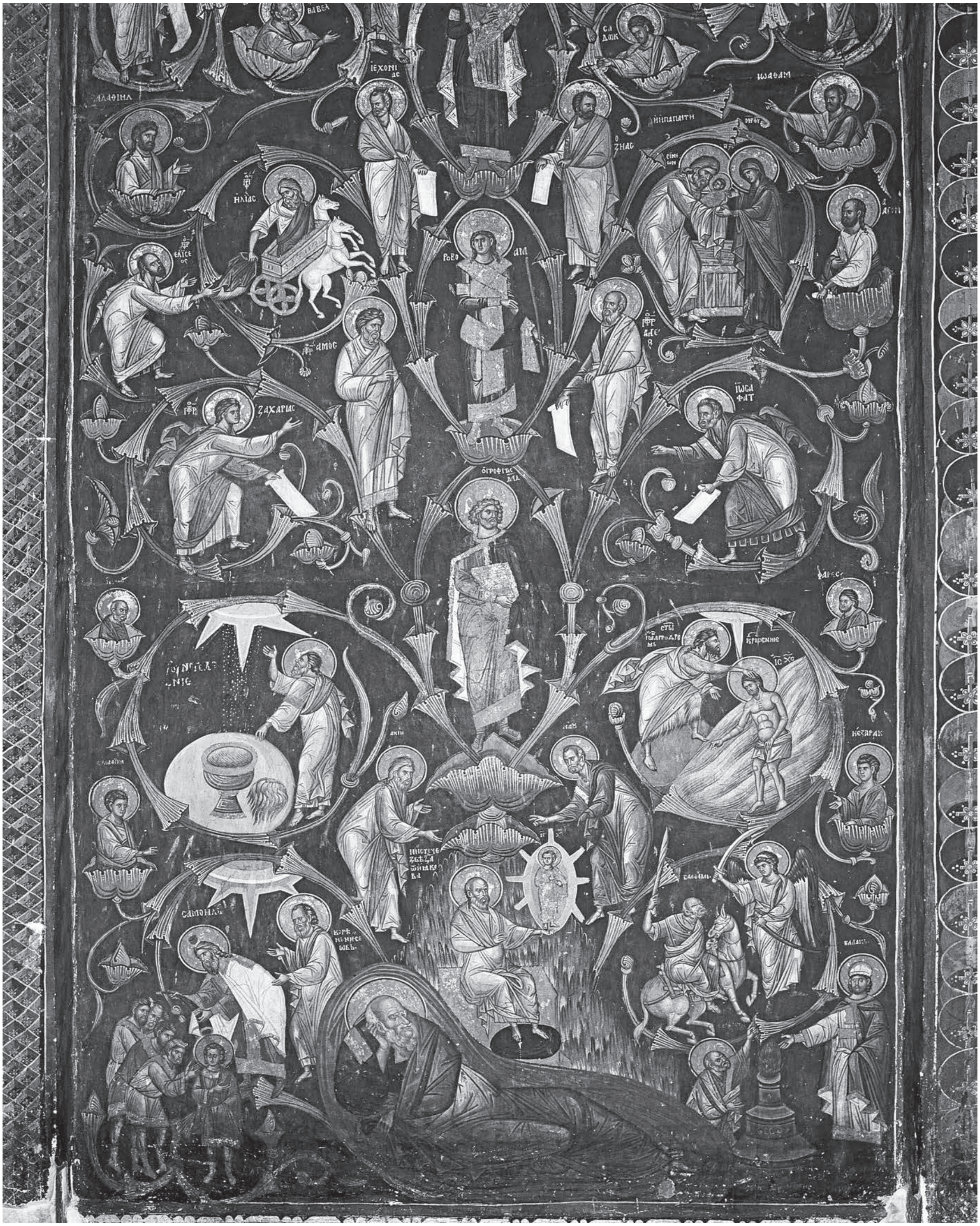

Figure 10.9. *Tree of Jesse*, Kosovo, Monastery of Dečani, Church of Christ Pantocrator, nave.
Second quarter of fourteenth century. Photo courtesy of Memnosyne: the Center for the Protection of Heritage in Kosovo and Metohija.

prophetic scenes in the Tree of Jesse composition on the west wall of the narthex of Saint Achilles in Arilje, only the scene of Balaam and the Ass corresponds exactly to a scene in Orvieto. It also includes ancestors of Christ and prophets, and although there is no distinct group of pagan prophets and philosophers, one single sibyl appears — just as in Orvieto.[78]

Eastern Connections: A Byzantine Historiated Tree of Jesse as a Model for Orvieto?

The poor condition of these early wall paintings together with only a limited number of corresponding scenes and figures — when compared to later eastern examples — caused Michael Taylor to discard them as possible models for Orvieto, a decision which led him to conclude that the iconography of the complex historiated Tree of Jesse was actually first formulated in Orvieto during the papal residency of Urban IV.[79] Taylor suggested that the original archetype was composed in response to heresy in the city and linked it to the presence of the Dominican cardinal and scholar Hugh of Saint-Cher, who died in Orvieto in March 1263 and was buried in the Dominican church there.[80] According to Taylor the first complex monumental image of the Tree of Jesse was probably located in this construction, which was one of the largest ever to be built by the Dominican Order.[81] Unfortunately most of the building was destroyed along with the convent in 1934 and only the transept and apse were left standing, leaving no physical trace of Taylor's theoretical archetype.[82] In his opinion, the Serbian Trees of Jesse — of which the one in Sopoćani (*c.* 1268) remains the earliest surviving example — were derived from the original Dominican archetype in Orvieto and were transmitted by the papacy to the Nemanjić dynastic rulers in order to stop the Bogomil heresy from spreading throughout their Kingdom.[83] However, neither the papal court of Pope Urban IV (1261–64) nor that of Pope Clement IV (1265–68), who succeeded him, are documented as having conducted political affairs with

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Star out of Jacob, and Balaam and the Ass are shown in Orvieto and Sopoćani; however Watson completes his list with the Presentation of Christ in contrast to Taylor who names the Annointing of David as the final common prophetic scene. Ljvovič-Okunev, 'The Mural Paintings', 129–130; Watson, 'The Imagery of the Tree of Jesse', p. 162, Taylor, 'A Historiated Tree of Jesse', p. 128.

[78] The Nativity and Saint Michael Archangel which appear in Arilje only bear a resemblance to the Orvieto Jesse Tree narrative. Watson, 'The Imagery of the Tree of Jesse', p. 162; Taylor, 'A Historiated Tree of Jesse', p. 128. Creighton Gilbert remarks at the identity of the figures at the base of these representations of the Tree of Jesse in Serbia, Bulgaria, and Romania, which represent 'sages of the ancient classical world' and include Plato, Aristotle, and the Erythraean sibyl. Unfortunately he gives no reference to his nomination of the sibyl, although he does comment, followed by Anita Fiderer Moskowitz, that the same sibyl featured together with Plato and Aristotle on the façade of the cathedral in Siena. Gilbert, *How Fra Angelico and Signorelli Saw the End of the World*, pp. 12, 13; Fiderer Moskowitz, *The Façade Reliefs of Orvieto Cathedral*, p. 50.

[79] Pope Urban IV resided in Orvieto from 18 October 1262 to 9 September 1264: Paravicini Bagliani, 'La mobilità della Curia Romana', p. 237.

[80] Taylor, 'A Historiated Tree of Jesse', p. 152. For Hugh of Saint-Cher in Orvieto, his deposit tomb in the church of San Domenico, and the epitaph which may have once been inscribed on it, see Salonius, 'Orvieto and its Cathedral', pp. 205–06; Gardner, *Tomb and the Tiara*, p. 98, n. 28; Paravicini Bagliani, *Cardinali di Curia*, i, 259, 264; Eubel, *Hierarchia Catholica Medii Aevi*, p. 7. For the construction and demolition of the church of San Domenico in Orvieto, see Bonelli, 'La Chiesa di San Domenico'.

[81] Taylor, 'A Historiated Tree of Jesse', p. 152. Pope Urban IV consecrated the church of San Domenico in Orvieto 'in meliorem formam redactam' in 1264. It was quite common for churches be consecrated before they were completed, and work on the Dominican church probably continued well into the 1270s. Curini, 'Architettura degli Ordini mendicanti in Umbria', pp. 118–21; Bonelli, 'La Chiesa di San Domenico', p. 149.

[82] Demolition of the Dominican church was begun in February 1934, and it was reopened in its current reduced state in June 1939. Paoletti, 'Demolizione e Restauro della Chiesa'. I am sceptical of Taylor's hypothesis given the vast difference in the number of eastern representations when compared to western Europe's single existing complex Tree of Jesse in Orvieto. In addition to this, there is no mention of a Tree of Jesse in the Dominican church in Orvieto in the city's substantial documentary records. On the other hand, monumental representations of the Tree of Jesse are either still standing or have been documented in Bulgaria, Georgia, Serbia, Macedonia, Turkey, and Israel, many of which predate the reliefs on the cathedral façade in Orvieto and a number of these may well have been executed before Taylor's hypothetical archetype in Orvieto. Although it remains unclear whether these earlier eastern European monumental editions of the Tree of Jesse all shared the iconography of the Tree of Jesse reliefs on the Orvieto Cathedral, the early Serbian trees in this group were definitely developed in the same complex manner. The success of this motif, repeated over a vast geographic area across the Adriatic in comparison to only two representations — with a space of at least thirty years between the hypothesized archetype and its copy, both located in the same Italian city of Orvieto — makes Taylor's argument even more tenuous. He correctly identifies the papal court, however, as the key link of transfer between the eastern Tree of Jesse and Orvieto. It is also interesting to note that artists from Constantinople were likely to have been responsible for the decoration in Sopoćani, which suggests that the extensive complex iconography of the Tree of Jesse originated in the East. Pajić, 'Fresco Fragment with an Apostle', n. 3; Taylor, 'A Historiated Tree of Jesse', p. 125.

[83] Taylor, 'A Historiated Tree of Jesse', pp. 125, 161.

the Serbian Kingdom.[84] On the other hand, friendly relations were recorded between the Nemanjić court and the Italian peninsula at the end of the thirteenth century and beginning of the fourteenth century, in particular with the court of Pope Nicholas IV (in Orvieto between June 1290 and October 1291).[85]

Testimony to this amicable relationship is an icon, which is still held in the Vatican collections today.[86] It shows Saints Peter and Paul together with the donor figures of the Serbian queen Helen of Anjou between her two sons Milutin and Dragutin (Figure 10.10). The painting portrays Milutin and Dragutin venerating the two apostle saints, while the Queen bows before Saint Nicholas, who was also the namesake of the pope the icon was originally sent as a gift to: Pope Nicholas IV.[87] It is possible that Nicholas IV had met Queen Helen personally as Girolamo d'Ascoli, in his role as Provincial Minister of Sclavonia (which roughly corresponds to modern-day Dalmatia and was ruled by the Nemanjić dynasty).[88] He was nominated for this position in 1271 on the authority of Bonaventure of Bagnoregio, and according to the chronicler Bernardo da Besse, was ordered to go to Dalmatia during the general Franciscan chapter convened by Bonaventure in Lyon in 1272.[89]

Given the tenuous nature of the existence of an archetypal Tree of Jesse dating to *c.* 1260 in the church of San Domenico in Orvieto, together with the far greater number of complex trees in eastern Europe when compared to western Europe's single example in Orvieto, as well as the potential date of *c.* 1235 for one of the Serbian trees, and the amicable relationship between the Kingdom of Serbia and the court of Nicholas IV which lasted into the fourteenth century,[90] it is likely that both the Serbian and the Orvieto Trees of Jesse were derived from a common iconographic source once located in eastern Europe. The early mosaic Trees of Jesse in the Basilica of the Nativity in Bethlehem and in the cloister of the monastery of Saint Mary Peribleptos in Constantinople provide further testimony to the same tradition, although the lack of detail in these sources makes it difficult to ascertain whether these mosaics represented the complex historiated type of the motif discussed in this essay. The residency of Girolamo d'Ascoli, later Pope Nicholas IV, for over a year in Constantinople, where he attended the imperial court of Michael VIII Palaeologos as leader of the legation chosen by Pope Gregory X in October 1272 to pave the way for the unification of the Eastern and Western Churches prior to the second council of Lyon, is pertinent to this argument.[91] The papal legate certainly had ample time to view the marvellous works of art for which Constantinople was reputed and must have seen the early Tree of Jesse on the cloister wall of Saint Mary Peribleptos. The mosaic was located in one of the most celebrated monasteries of Byzantine Constantinople. It possessed the hand of Saint John the Baptist among its numerous relics and was at the time the object of a restoration campaign commissioned by Girolamo's host Michael VIII Palaeologos (1259–82).[92]

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[84] Taylor, 'A Historiated Tree of Jesse', p. 161.

[85] Paravicini Bagliani, 'La mobilità della Curia Romana', p. 242.

[86] Icon with Saints Peter and Paul, with donor portrait of Serbian Queen Mother Helen, Serbian, late thirteenth century, tempera, canvas on poplar wood, 49 × 74 cm, Museo Storico del Tesoro della Basilica di San Pietro, Rome. Inscribed with the names of the saints in Slavonic: Saint Peter and Saint Paul.

[87] Weyl Carr, 'Images: Expressions of Faith and Power'.

[88] Gardner, 'The Artistic Patronage of Pope Nicholas IV', p. 1.

[89] There is some debate as to whether Girolamo d'Ascoli became provincial minister during the Franciscan Chapter of 1271 or that which took place in Lyon on 12 June 1272. Despite this confusion, it appears that he received orders to go to Dalmatia during this second Franciscan Chapter, convened by Bonaventure. He held his position as provincial minister until elected, under the auspices of Bonaventure of Bagnoregio, minister general of the Franciscan Order during the General Chapter of 1274. Bernardo da Besse, *Catalogus generalium ministrorum ordinis fratrum minorum*, p. 701; Gardner, 'The Artistic Patronage', p. 1; Ritzler, 'I cardinali e i papi dei frati minori conventuali'; Franchi, *Nicolaus Papa IV*, pp. 13, 29; Franchi, 'Girolamo d'Ascoli', p. 34, n. 48; Matanić, 'Il Papato di Niccolò IV', pp. 121–22, n. 6; Barone, 'Niccolò IV e i Colonna', p. 77.

[90] Antonio Beatillo clearly documents Queen Helen of Anjou, wife of the Serbian King Stefano Uroš I from 1245 to her death in 1314, as a benefactor of the Basilica of Saint Nicholas in Bari. The Serbian royal family continued its role as a donor to the Basilica of Saint Nicholas in Bari throughout the reigns of King Stefan Uroš I (1243–76), King Stefan Uroš II Milutin (1282–1321), King Stefan Uroš III Dečanski (1321–31), and King Stefan Uroš Dušan (1331–46). Beatillo, *Historia della vita [...] Christo S. Nicolò*, p. 961; Cioffari, 'The Tsars of Serbia', p. 167.

[91] Girolamo d'Ascoli was still present in Constantinople in February 1274, when he was recorded at a meeting with the Greek clergy at the Blachernae palace. Geanakoplos, 'Bonaventura, the Two Mendicant Orders, and the Greeks', p. 190; Gardner, 'The Artistic Patronage', p. 2.

[92] As the Tree of Jesse in the cloister of Saint Mary Peribleptos probably dates to any time between 1034 and 1268, it was certainly present in the monastery when Girolamo d'Ascoli was in Constantinople in 1273 and 1274. Mango, 'The Monastery of St. Mary Peribleptos', pp. 482–83. Alice-Mary Talbot and Anthony Cutler mention the relic of Saint John the Baptist in the Monastery of Saint Mary Peribleptos. Alice-Mary Talbot and Anthony Cutler, 'Peribleptos Monastery', in *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, ed. by Kazhdan. Girolamo d'Ascoli was sent to Constantinople a sec-

Since it cannot be ascertained if a Tree of Jesse archetype of monumental dimensions existed at the church of San Domenico in Orvieto, this leaves us with the unique Italian example decorating the second of the four pilasters of the cathedral façade in the same city. The four cycles of Genesis, the Tree of Jesse, stories of the New Testament, and the Last Judgement on the façade are all arranged within the framework of the tree motif (Figure 10.1). Acanthus foliage surrounds the figures in the two central pilasters, evergreen ivy symbolizing eternal life twines around the scenes of Genesis, and eucharistic grapevine is used to frame the representation of the Last Judgement.[93] Trees unify the two distinct parts of the pilaster cycle in Orvieto, where the Old and New Testament stories are divided by the cathedral's main entrance, over which is placed the presiding figures of the Virgin and Christchild enthroned. The tree was commonly used as a mnemonic device for scholars in the Middle Ages, when 'memories are always carried in images, both pictorial and graphic. These images are most like letters on a written surface, etched into physical loci or "places" in the brain. Our memories are thus most like a book, which in recollection, we read'.[94] The decoration of the cathedral façade in Orvieto appears as an open book to be studied by the passing public.[95]

Bonaventure, the Lignum Vitae *and Mendicant Iconography in Orvieto*

At this point of the discussion, the presence of the Franciscan scholar and future cardinal Bonaventure of Bagnoregio (1221–74) at the papal court and Franciscan convent in Orvieto becomes interesting. The scholar is documented as having given sermons at the papal court in Orvieto in both 1262 and 1264.[96] In the lecture series *Collationes in hexaemeron* held at the University of Paris in 1273, Bonaventure claimed that the 'Old and New Testaments were related to each other as a tree to a tree'.[97] They were two halves of historical time in which Christ appeared as the true centre and turning point of history. According to Joseph Ratzinger the Franciscan saw a double relation between the Old and New Testament, whereby 'one Testament comes from the other and emerges out of the other' and 'one Testament stands over against the other'.[98] The use of the tree motif on the four pilasters flanking the three entrance portals of

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ond time by Pope Innocent V in May 1276; however, the news of the Pope's death reached him in Ancona on 22 June 1276 before he embarked, and he and his three Franciscan companions returned immediately to Rome. Pásztor, 'Girolamo d'Ascoli e Pietro di Giovanni Olivi', pp. 61–62. For Girolamo d'Ascoli's lasting impression of Constantinople, see Gardner, 'The Artistic Patronage', p. 2; Dark, 'The Byzantine Church', p. 656.

[93] An eastern European model of the Tree of Jesse in Orvieto could have contributed to the choice of acanthus for the decorative framing motif of the two trees on the central façade pilasters. Figured acanthus scrolls can be traced to Roman decoration on public buildings from the Flavian period onwards. The peopled acanthus scroll motif — once sculpted on columns and pilasters and visible in mosaics throughout the eastern and western Mediterranean — may also have alluded to the reunification of the Eastern and Western Churches, a topic which dominated the second Council of Lyon. Girolamo d'Ascoli personally escorted the representatives of the Eastern Church from Constantinople to the Council of Lyon, and the unification of the Church continued to be a constant preoccupation of the papacy throughout the second half of the thirteenth century until well after the loss of Acre, which coincided with his reign as Nicholas IV. The use of acanthus on the flat surface of the Orvietan pilasters was likely to have been a deliberate visual reference to Rome, the city of the papacy. Seidel, 'Die Rankensäulen der Sieneser Domfassade', pp. 97–124, 156–60; Capitani, 'Niccolò IV ed il suo tempo'. Ivy, as an evergreen, was a medieval symbol for eternal life and resurrection. De Vries, *Elsevier's Dictionary of Symbols and Imagery*, p. 327. The eucharistic grapevine used to frame the Last Judgement scenes was in direct reference to the blood of Christ, shed for the salvation of Man. Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, pp. 251–53.

[94] Carruthers, '*Ars Inveniendi, Ars Memorativa*', p. 31.

[95] According to Christiane Klapische-Zuber, the *arbor* or tree-based diagram began to be used in teaching in the eleventh and twelfth centuries and was introduced to central Europe by the mendicant friars. Klapisch-Zuber, 'The Tree', p. 294. In an article discussing medieval Byzantine illumination, Bissera Pentcheva stresses the role of contemplation in reading Byzantine texts and suggests that memory practices were also important to Byzantine culture. She encourages further research on the topic, reminding us that lack of current scholarship does not mean that such practices did not exist. Pentcheva, 'Visual Textuality', p. 238.

[96] Bonaventure of Bagnoregio delivered two sermons to the papal curia in Orvieto in December 1262 and an ulterior sermon before the general consistory in the summer of 1264. Bonelli, 'La Chiesa di San Francesco', p. 54, n. 8.

[97] 'Item, comparator quod oritur ad illud, de quo oritur, ut arbor ad semen, de quo oritur, et ad arborem, ut littera ad litteram, ut semen ad semen. Et sicut arbor est de arbore, et semen de semine, et littera de littera; sic testamentum de testament. Seundum hoc assignatur comparatio duorum testamentorum sex modis, secundum differentiam unitatis, dualitatis, ternarii, quaternarii, quinarii et senarii, semper addita unitate': St. Bonaventure, *Doctoris seraphici S. Bonaventurae opera omnia*, ed. by Collegium S. Bonaventurae, p. 401, Collatio 15, v. 22. For translations into English and further discussion, see Ratzinger, *The Theology of History*, p. 12; Salonius, 'The Cathedral Façade', pp. 130–32.

[98] Ratzinger, *The Theology of History*, p. 12.

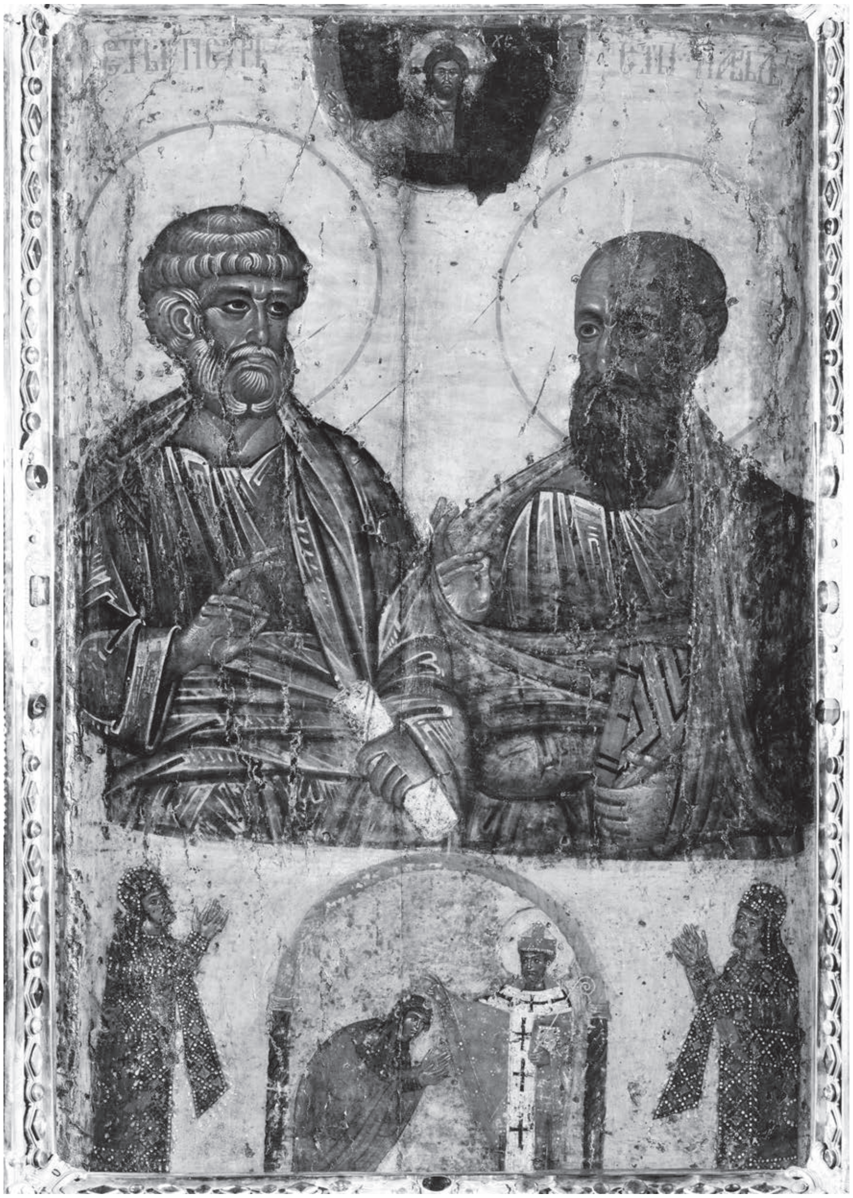

Figure 10.10.
'Icon with Saints Peter and Paul and donor portrait of Serbian Queen Mother Helena', Serbia. Late thirteenth century. Rome, Museo Storico del Tesoro della Basilica di San Pietro. Photo courtesy of Scala, Florence.

the façade of the cathedral of Orvieto creates a narrative that appears like a literal illustration of Bonaventure's historical schema, which was evidently well known to those responsible for the decorative programme. It is relevant to note that Pope Nicholas IV was a scholar of Bonaventure's writing and personally amended the *Legenda maior*, adding to the official version of Saint Francis's life story.[99]

Saint Bonaventure is even more directly associated with Orvieto's second tree image: the Tree of Life in the church of San Giovenale (Figure 10.3). The first western European images of the *Lignum vitae* appear towards the end of the thirteenth century, and references to its illustration within Bonaventure's text led the Franciscan scholar Raphael Ligtenberg to suggest that Bonaventure's original manuscript — probably written in Paris after 1257 — was also illustrated, though this has been a matter of debate.[100] Bonaventure's original illustration may well have been a mnenonic diagram without figurative elaboration. The leaves, fruit, and representation of Christ on the cross were probably added over time as the iconography developed.[101] No mention is made in Bonaventure's text of the busts of prophets which appear at the sides of both the Darmstadt and the Orvieto trees and became common components of fourteenth-century representations of the *Lignum vitae*. If indeed Bonaventure's autograph was illustrated, it was likely to have been present and may well have been copied at the Franciscan convent in Orvieto when Bonaventure was at the papal court there.[102]

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[99] Brooke, *The Image of Saint Francis*, p. 442.

[100] Ligtenberg cites the passage 'ex multis pauca collegi et imaginaria quadam arbore sic ordinavi et disposui, ut [...]' from Bonaventure's text in support of this argument. Ligtenberg, 'Het Lignum Vitae van den H. Bonaventura'. On the subject of representations of Saint Bonaventure's *Lignum vitae*, see the article in this volume by Ilg, '*Quasi lignum vitae*'.

The earliest surviving figurative representation of Bonaventure's *Lignum vitae* dates to the end of the thirteenth century and is a Mosan manuscript now located in Darmstadt.[103] At the foot of the tree kneels its owner Symon, who was consecrated priest in 1296, prior to his appointment as a canon at Tongeren and becoming a monk at Saint-Jacques in Liège. These last two residencies in modern-day Belgium correspond geographically to the area where the manuscript was copied and illuminated.[104] In Italy the first figurative representation of the Tree of Life also appears in a manuscript, dated 1301, which is held — not far from Orvieto — in the Library of Perugia (Figure 10.11).[105] An early example of monumental dimensions is the wooden panel painting of the Tree of Life by Pacino di Bonaguida now housed in the Galleria dell'Accademia in Florence (Figure 9.3). The altarpiece was commissioned for a convent belonging to the female branch of the Franciscan Order, the Poor Clares of Santa Maria di Monticelli, located on the outskirts of Florence. In his fundamental analysis of the work, Richard Offner suggests that the prophets on Pacino di Bonaguida's tree, which are not mentioned in Bonaventure's treatise the *Lignum vitae*, may have been included due to 'analogies with earlier representations of the Tree of Jesse in the (later) iconography (of the Tree of Bonaventure)'.[106] He concludes that the incorporation of the Tree of Jesse motif, familiar to artists since the twelfth century, into the new iconography of the Tree of Life is easily understood given the 'similarity of theme' and the diagrammatic layout of the tree common to both images.[107]

These trees served as visual representations of Bonaventure's text (Figure 9.1); their twelve branches with twelve fruits hanging off them were mnemonic devices which served to aid meditation using a formula similar to the trees on the façade of the Orvieto Cathedral. Members of the mendicant orders continued to associate the image of the tree with its branches and fruit with the art of preaching, and by the fifteenth century the Dominican Mauritius of Leiden was able to summarily describe the construction of a sermon with the words 'praedicare est arborisare' (to preach is to 'arborize').[108]

References to the Crucifixion were also added to the Tree of Life composition, encouraging contemplation of the suffering of Christ and the Virgin. The viewer's identification with Christ's suffering mirrors the manner in which Saint Francis had relived the Passion, and it is no surprise that later fourteenth-century versions of the Tree of Life commonly appear in Franciscan convents. In Tuscany, two of the best-known examples of the *Lignum vitae* of large dimensions are Pacino di Bonaguida's aforementioned wooden panel painting for the Poor Clares' convent of Santa Maria in Monticelli, now housed in the Galleria dell'Accademia in Florence (Figure 9.3) and Taddeo Gaddi's complex version of the same subject for the refectory wall at the Franciscan

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[101] Esmeijer, *L'albero della vita di Taddeo Gaddi*, pp. 11–12.

[102] One of Bonaventure's manuscripts is still present today in the Franciscan saint's birth town, not far from Orvieto. The small illuminated Bible in the cathedral of San Nicola in Bagnoregio, a town which lies between Viterbo and Orvieto, is believed to have once belonged to Bonaventure. The text was copied towards the middle of the thirteenth century and it was illustrated at the end of the same century by Italian and English illuminators. Bennett, 'La Bibbia di Bagnoregio', pp. 403, 410.

[103] Darmstadt, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, Hs. 2777, fol. 43^{r}, *c.* 1300.

[104] Ligtenberg, 'Het Lignum Vitae van den H. Bonaventura', p. 17; Esmeijer, *L'albero della vita di Taddeo Gaddi*, pp. 12, 22, n. 41–42. The original Tree of Life is a cosmic symbol which has its origins in Mesopotamian antiquity. In its adaptation of the symbol, the Christian West associated it with the *arbor* or tree-based diagrams employed by medieval scholars as a tool of thought used in an attempt to explain the meaning of the world. Klapisch-Zuber, 'The Tree', p. 293.

[105] An earlier illustration of the *Lignum vitae* (Città del Vaticano, BAV, MS lat. 1058, fol. 28^{v}, *c.* 1290) showing a tree and its fruits embellished with inscriptions, but no figures, can be found in Italy at the Vatican. Ligtenberg, 'Het Lignum Vitae van den H. Bonaventura', p. 17; Esmeijer, *L'albero della vita di Taddeo Gaddi*, pp. 12, 22, n. 41–42. For the illustration of the *Lignum vitae* in Perugia: Perugia, Bib. Augusta, MS 280, E 27, fol. 99^{r}.

[106] Pacino di Bonaguida, *The Tree of Life*, Florence, Galleria dell'Accademia (n. 8459), panel, tempera and gold, 2.48 m × 1.51 m, *c.* 1310–15. Sciacca, 'Pacino di Bonaguida and his Workshop', pp. 288, 290; Wood, *Women, Art and Spirituality*, p. 179; Offner, *A Critical and Historical Corpus*, vol. II: *Elder Contemporaries of Bernardo Daddi*, ed. by Boskovits and Gregori, p. 108.

[107] Offner, *A Critical and Historical Corpus*, vol. II: *Elder Contemporaries of Bernardo Daddi*, ed. by Boskovits and Gregori, p. 108.

[108] Roth, *Die mittelalterliche Predigttheorie und das Manuale Curatorum*, pp. 128–30; Kamber, *Arbor amoris. Der Minnebaum*, p. 70; Klapisch-Zuber, *L'ombre des ancêtres*, p. 21.

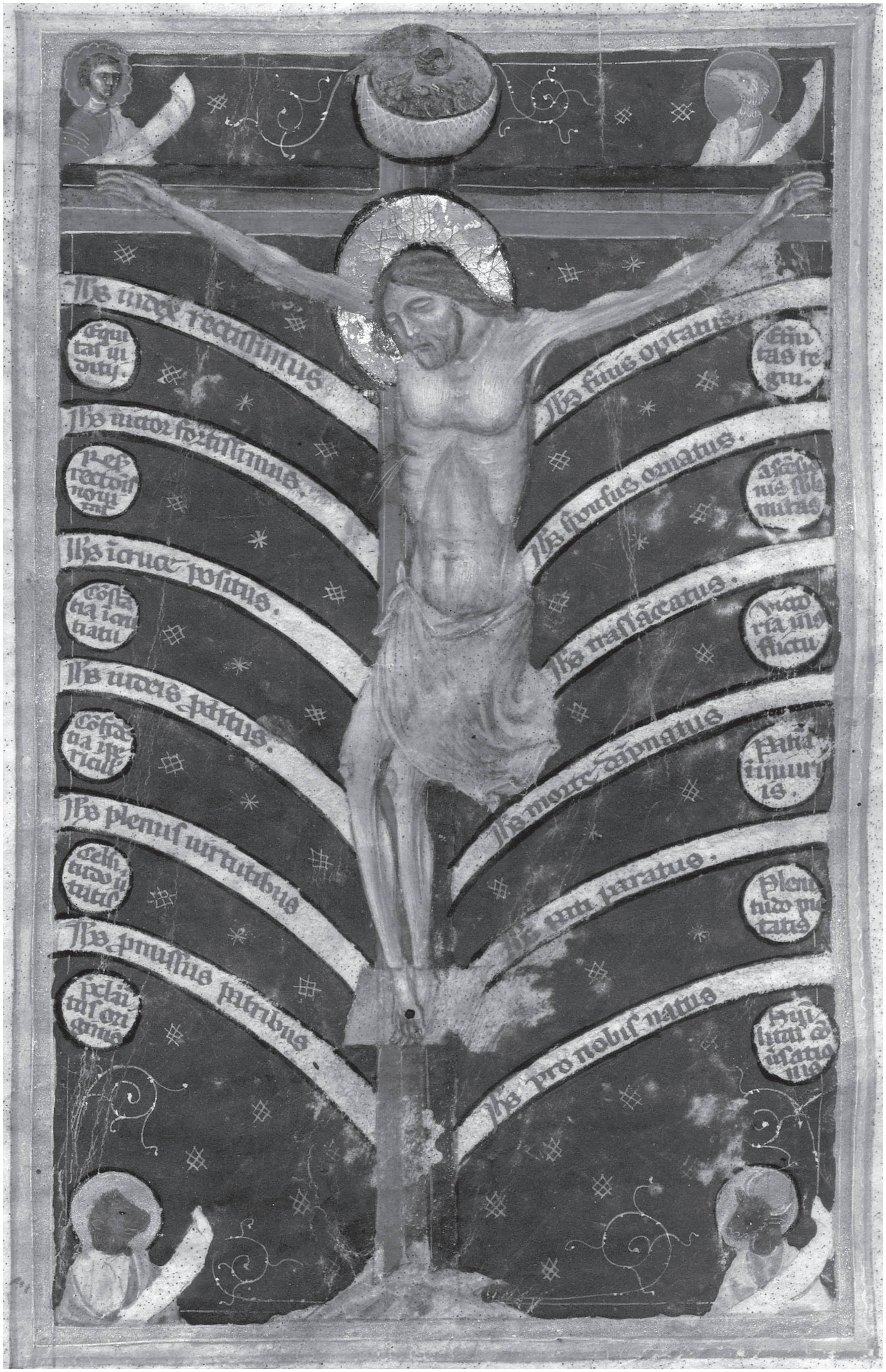

Figure 10.11. '*Lignum vitae*', Perugia, Biblioteca Comunale Augusta, MS 280, E 27, fol. 99^{r}. 1301.
Photo courtesy of the Biblioteca Comunale Augusta.

convent of Santa Croce (Figures 9.4, 9.5, and 9.6).[109] Such intense and complex meditation was usually only expected of members of the religious community, and many of the monumental frescoes of the subject appear in refectories and chapter houses, areas within the convent's walls reserved for members of the ecclesiastic community.[110] The Orvieto Tree of Life is one of the earliest known monumental illustrations of Bonaventure's text, and its location on the interior wall of the entrance to the Guglielmite parish church of San Giovenale is unusual considering the manuscript's Franciscan origins.[111] In the lower right-hand corner of the composition the bishop saint Juvenal (Giovenale) presents the female donor of the painting. She may well have been a member of the confraternity which met in the church as early as 1263.[112] Until her identity is discovered, however, her presence does little to explain the wall painting's origins.

Conclusion

Trees dominate the compositions of the façade relief cycle at the cathedral in Orvieto and the interior decoration of one of the city's most prominent parish churches, San Giovenale. Although these works of art were executed in different media and by different artists, they were produced within a common time frame. It comes as no surprise, considering Bonaventure's 'scholastic' approach to being Franciscan and the strong connections both decorative programmes share with his writings, that the tree — which was widely employed as a mnemonic device in scholastic circles during the Middle Ages — was repetitively used as a framing device in both cases.[113] Moreover, both compositions were intentionally situated in public places of prayer and aimed at instructing members of the general public. Indeed by 1330, the most prominent and most complex display of the Tree of Jesse in western European sculpture was to be found at the cathedral in Orvieto. The presence of these two trees in late medieval Orvieto should not be dismissed as coincidental. There can be no doubt that they are intrinsically linked to the immense popularity enjoyed by the Franciscan Order in the city, thanks not least to the presence of grand personalities such as the Franciscan Bonaventure of Bagnoregio, who would later be nominated cardinal and canonized a saint, and the first Franciscan to sit on the papal throne: Pope Nicholas IV. This papal presence, which is a dominant aspect of the city's cultural landscape throughout the second half of the thirteenth century, culminates with the residencies of the papal courts of Nicholas IV and Boniface VIII in Orvieto and coincides with the initial stages of building the new cathedral. However, of these two great figures, it was the Franciscan pope who had a personal relationship with Bonaventure, his order's most recognized scholar. As Girolamo d'Ascoli, the Franciscan had also spent a remarkable amount of his formative working life on missions in the Nemanjić Kingdom of Serbia and at the Byzantine imperial court of Michael VIII Palaeologos. It was in these eastern regions where, as I have argued, he most likely viewed the monumental interpretations of the Tree of Jesse motif which was then later adapted so prominently for the façade of the cathedral in Orvieto. The cathedral was after all built thanks to his intervention and initiative, in a city which had publicly recognized and honoured him by electing him to its highest offices of State, that of *Podestà* and *Capitano del Popolo*.[114] As cumulative expressions of the extensive historical and cultural background of the tree motif, the *Arbor Jesse* of Orvieto Cathedral and the *Lignum vitae* of San Giovenale offer enlightening images of growth and flourishing faith to the public eye.

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[109] For the Tree of Life by Pacino di Bonaguida, see above, note 106. Taddeo Gaddi, *Lignum vitae*, Florence, Museo di Santa Croce, Refectory, fresco, *c.* 1340. For an extensive discussion of the Tree of Life by Pacino di Bonaguida and Taddeo Gaddi, see respectively Wood, *Women, Art and Spirituality*, pp. 65–85, 179–80, Esmeijer, *L'albero della vita di Taddeo Gaddi*, and the article in this volume by Ilg, '*Quasi lignum vitae*'.

[110] Gardner, 'Andrea di Bonaiuto', p. 129; Esmeijer, *L'albero della vita di Taddeo Gaddi*, pp. 10, 13; Gardner, 'Nuns and Altarpieces', p. 52.

[111] The parish church of San Giovenale in Orvieto was administered by the Benedictine abbey of San Pietro in Aquaorta, and passed to the Williamites in 1279. Elm, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Wilhelmitenordens*, pp. 35–97.

[112] Henderson, 'Piety and Heresy in Medieval Orvieto', p. 295; Frank, *Bruderschaften im spätmittelalterlichen Kirchenstaat*, p. 258, n. 10.

[113] For Bonaventure's 'scholastic' approach to Franciscanism, where the term 'scholastic' is intended in its most general sense, see Ratzinger, *The Theology of History*, p. 2.

[114] Nicholas IV was elected to and accepted the positions of *Podestà* and *Capitano del Popolo*, which he ruled through a vicar during his residence of 487 days in Orvieto (12 June 1290 – 11 October 1291). Salonius, 'Orvieto and its Cathedral', p. 186, n. 59; Waley, *Orvieto medievale*, pp. 89, 109, n. 2; Paravicini Bagliani, 'La mobilità della Curia Romana', pp. 163, 242.

APPENDIX

Examples of Monumental Trees of Jesse in Eastern Europe

This list of Monumental Trees of Jesse in eastern Europe was compiled from the examples given by Taylor, 'A Historiated Tree of Jesse', and Milanović, 'The Tree of Jesse in the Byzantine Mural Painting'. It is by no means intended to represent a complete list, but rather is published here as an initiative for future research and, as such, should be considered as a tool and work in progress.

Country	**Location**	**Church/Monastery**	**Date**
Bulgaria	Arbanasi Monastery	Church of the Nativity	*c.* 1649
Bulgaria	Bačkovo Monastery	Church of Our Lady	*c.* 1643
Bulgaria	Melnik	Church of the Virgin Panatassa	13th C./14th C.
Bulgaria	Tcherven	Cave church	13th C./14th C.
Georgia	Betania	Church of Nativity of the Mother of God	Pre-12th C.
Georgia	Kintsvisi	Church of Saint Nicholas	13th C.
Georgia	Ozaani	Church of the Ascension	14th C./15th C.
Georgia	Tchule	Church of Saint Sabas	(unknown)
Greece	Kastoria	Panagia Mavriotissa, south façade	1259–65
Greece	Mount Athos	Dochiarou Monastery	1568
Greece	Mount Athos	The Great Lavra	*c.* 1536
Greece	Thessaloniki	Church of the Holy Apostles, south gallery	after 1315
Israel	Bethlehem	Basilica of the Nativity	1169–16th C.
Kosovo	Dečani Monastery	Church of Christ Pantocrator, nave, west bay, west wall — south	1325–50
Kosovo	Prizren	Church of Bogorodica Ljeviška, exonarthex	1310–13
Kosovo	Žiča Monastery	Church of the Saviour, exonarthex	1309–16
Macedonia	Manastir	Church of Saint Nicholas	1271
Macedonia	Mateič	Church of the Virgin, narthex	*c.* 1460
Montenegro	Morača Monastery	Church of the Dormition, narthex	1577–78
Romania	Bucovine	Humor Monastery church, exterior wall	1530–35
Romania	Bucovine	Moldovița Monastery church, exterior wall	1537
Romania	Bucovine	Sucevița Monastery church, exterior wall	*c.* 1600
Romania	Cetătuia Monastery	Cetătuia Monastery church	1668–72
Romania	Suceava	Church of Saint George, exterior wall	1532–34
Romania	Voroneț Monastery	Church of Saint George	1547
Serbia	Arilje	Church of Saint Achilles, narthex	1296
Serbia	Sopoćani Monastery	Church of the Holy Trinity, narthex	*c.* 1268
Serbia	Studenica Monastery	Studenica Monastery, west tower	1240–50
Turkey	Constantinopole (Istanbul)	Saint Mary Peribleptos, cloister wall	11th–15th C.
Turkey	Tarsus	(unknown)	12th C.
Turkey	Trebizond	Church of Hagia Sophia, north porch	1260–70

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